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1948

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Thesis

THE YOUTH PROBLEM -- AN INSTITUTIONAL APPROACH

Submitted by

Norman Clifton Greene

(B. Sc. in Ed., Boston University, 1938)

In partial fulfillment of requirements for
the degree of Master of Education

1948

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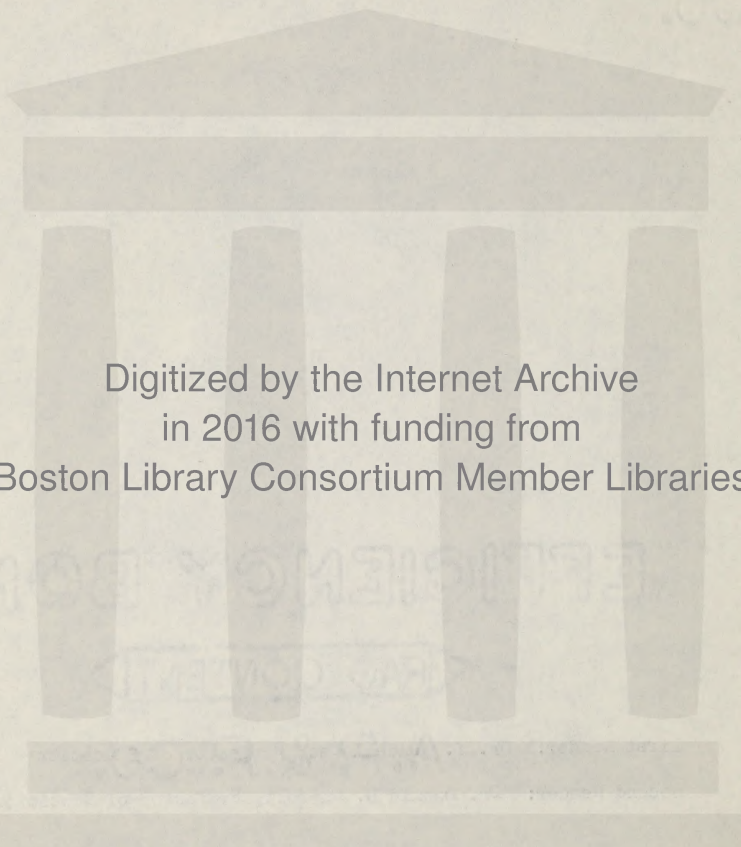
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First Reader: Dr. J. Wendell Yeo, Professor of Education

Second Reader: Dr. Donald D. Durrell, Professor of Education



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PREFACE

In the present generation there has developed a growing concern about the young men and young women of our country. It has come in part from the increasing numbers of youth who, having left school for one reason or another and being unemployed, are hanging around home or else are wandering about the country. In part, it has come from the concern with the number of adjudged delinquents. Most of all it has come from the youth themselves who are pressing for recognition as people in their own right.

Recently these young people have fought to preserve the American "way of life" against foreign aggression. Now that they are back home they are beginning to be concerned with themselves and about the "way of life" they fought to save. Yesterday's children are swelling their ranks. They, too, are beginning to share the same concern. And well they might as long as society fails to recognize their rights, or to provide a place for them in the social structure.

It is the purpose of this paper to define the Youth Problem as society's failure to provide for youth and their needs; and to show that youth is a phenomena of fairly recent origin about which most Americans are not cognizant. The solution of the Youth Problem is not merely one of employment, as many youth workers believe; it goes deeper than that. The solution

is involved in the basic problems of preserving our modern Western civilization.

In some respects this paper does not adequately cover the many ramifications of the Youth Problem. At best it would be an impossibility to exhaust the subject inasmuch as it is identified with the problem of the whole culture. It is hoped, however, that sufficient treatment has been given to reveal the implications for the future welfare of the American people. It is further hoped that the need for solving the Youth Problem will not be lost amid our concerns for the domestic adult problems and the international discord.

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Although the limited time available to the writer, due to employment and other obligations, did not permit as many conferences with his faculty adviser as were desirable, nonetheless he acknowledges deep obligation to Dr. J. Wendell Yeo for the criticisms and suggestions received when this paper was in its formulative stage. The interest shown in reading and commenting upon the paper by the writer's associates in the Huntington School for Boys is greatly appreciated, especially Mr. Preston Harvey, Mr. Roland Leach, and Mr. Robert O. Bates. Recognition is also due for his interest to Mr. A. Karl Roehrig, Director of the Occupational Services, the Y. M. C. A., Huntington Avenue Branch, Boston, with whom the writer is associated as a counselor.

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many hours she sacrificed in doing the typing involved in preparing the manuscript.

THE YOUTH PROBLEM

The period of youth.— Somewhere between the ages of 12 and 18 the comparative security and protection of childhood is abandoned and the human being enters into a period of confusion, inner turmoil, instability, and outer conflict. Later, somewhere between 18 and 25 years of age, he will emerge into adulthood. But before then he lives in a veritable "No-man's land" where there are no social or cultural guideposts, no tried-and-true methods of dealing with his problems.

The inception of this period, at puberty, is at best one of shock, of a painful awareness of self, accompanied by new and rapid physiological changes. Elor² describes it as follows:

"The uneven distribution of growth during this period, the jerky and unstable progression of growth, the appearance of conspicuous individual differences, the sudden development of sexual characteristics with their intimate connotations are among the physiological factors which make strains and conflicts press upon the individual at a time when the group as a normative influence acquires an increased importance for him, and where the impact of other cultural forces is being experienced with a new sensitivity."

This problem of adjustment by the young person to his environment, particularly in the home, in his attempts to get

1/ P. Elor, The Adolescent Personality, p. 262. New York: D. Appleton Century Company, 1941.
2/ Ibid., p. 234.

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The Youth Problem.-- It is in this last group that we find the symptoms of the Youth Problem. It refers, for the want of a better name, to the growing numbers of boys and girls who appear to be flouting the most cherished of society's traditional ideas of young people. Their basic needs apparently unsatisfied, youth are seeking to satiate them in ways which adult society cannot ignore. But where up to now their behavior has been treated as delinquent and they have been arbitrarily classified as asocial, their very numbers make this impractical any longer.

The large armies of disillusioned, unemployed, migrant young people of the depression years of the 1930's aroused the first real concern. Regarding it, however, as one of the concomitants of the times, we supplied stop-gaps in the form of the C.C.C., the N.Y.A., and the W.P.A., and expected the problem to disappear with a return to "normalcy." The war needs of industry and the anticipated "new era" in the post-war world led us to believe a difficult crisis had passed. But, as

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Cline^{1/} points out: "Much time will be wasted in dealing with the adolescent problem if we assume that the dislocations of the past decade were merely transitory phases of a depression."

Peculiar to modern Western world.-- There is an abundant source of information becoming available on the childhood period of earlier cultures. Nowhere do we find a youth period in primitive society and scarcely in agrarian society.^{2/} It is not until the industrial, urbanized Western civilization appears that we can begin to discern the youth period: a span of years between what had customarily been considered the period of nurturing the child and that of his entry into the self-sufficiency of adulthood.

In fact, the development of social distance between childhood and adulthood to such an extent that virtually a new age period has evolved is so recent that few people, outside of sociologists, some educators, religious leaders, and others who deal with groups of young people, realize the actuality of its existence. Most people seem prone to regard it merely as an extending of childhood or as a prolonging of training for adulthood.

In primitive culture the child invariably was inducted with more or less formality into the privileges and responsibilities of adult status at an age when modern children enter youth. Western society on the other hand, has long since failed

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to give any recognition to puberty as a stage of maturation.

As Bloss^{1/} complains:

"Established traditions in our culture are not favorable to the notion of preparing children for adulthood by permitting them to participate increasingly in adult activities It is no small wonder, therefore, that the adolescent should be confused and conflicted in trying to gain a sense of his place in the wider culture, for he lives in a culture which is itself inconsistent in defining his status and in a society which fails to provide him with any preparation for increasingly responsible membership."

Concern of youth with status.--- Thus, sooner or later, youth becomes concerned almost exclusively with the problems of his status to others, and with the activities, emotions and social behavior which are involved. As a result, youth is a period when social development becomes a pronounced social struggle, and lags behind physical development.^{2/} According to Davis^{3/} the more complex the social structure the greater the "lag" that develops, and the farther the extension of youth.

Up to the turn of the century, American culture had been predominantly agrarian wherein the child, as he physically matured, naturally became a functioning member of the household "economy" and earned status without conscious effort on his part. There was work for all to be done, and he was given

^{1/} Op. cit., p. 262.

^{2/} Ibid, p. 264.

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"chores" to do almost as soon as he could walk. They were increased as he grew older until he reached adulthood, often at the age of sixteen, without half the struggle and turmoil of the modern youth who, at best, seldom achieves that status much before twenty-five. As Landis^{1/} points out it is only in urbanized Western society "that we find the youth period, that in which parental discipline is reduced to a minimum but in which responsibility is not recognized."

Youth a state of mind.-- The discovery of youth, according to Bentley^{2/} is one of the by-products of the depression of the thirties. During those turbulent years it was discovered that the ages of 16 to 25 years had a special set of problems of vocational, personal, and social adjustment. Zachery^{3/} regards the chronological span of years as being from 14 to 21; whereas Butterfield^{4/} sets it from 13 to 25; and May^{5/} from 16 to 20 years. Most studies do not run below 14 or beyond 25 years of age. Youth, however, cannot be conceived as purely a chronological matter. It is only that these years generally set the limits, in our modern culture, within which certain phenomena of biological and sociological changes take place. But it should be constantly recognized that the psychological aspects

^{1/} Op. cit., p. 262.

^{2/} J.H. Bentley, "The Vocational Guidance of Youth," The Annals, 194:34-41, November, 1937.

^{3/} C.B. Zachery, "Customary Stresses and Strains of Adolescence", The Annals, 236: 136-144, November, 1944.

^{4/} O.M. Butterfield, Love Problems of Adolescence, p.2. New York: Teachers college, Columbia University, Bureau of Publications, 1939.

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If we accept the adolescent-youth range as being twelve to twenty-four years, in 1940^{2/} we will have accounted for 23.7 per cent of the population, or 31,141,832 persons. In the fifteen to twenty-four age group, they have already begun to experience the exigencies of life's problems as seen in the following data:

Table 1. Marital Status of Youth, Male and Female, 15 to 24 Years of Age in 1940

Age & Sex	Total	Single	Married	Widowed	Divorced
<u>Male</u>					
15-19	6,180,153	6,073,165	104,935	1,031	1,022
20-24	5,692,392	4,109,304	1,557,104	8,394	17,590
<u>Female</u>					
15-19	6,153,370	5,424,023	713,940	6,423	8,984
20-24	5,895,443	2,781,001	3,024,923	32,751	55,768

Need of Youth for a cultural pattern.-- As industrialized society formed and developed from the Industrial Revolution in eighteenth century England, spreading to the Continent and the United States in the nineteenth century, the resulting "factory system", hungry for cheap labor, readily provided the "chores"

^{1/} Butterfield, loc.cit.

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As the doors of employment have been closed upon young people within recent decades, the youth problem has become one of the most critical needs of modern times. The necessity of providing social institutions and a cultural pattern whereby this age group can attain status and security has not been faced by our society. Instead society has automatically endeavored, on the one hand, to treat them merely as older children, or on the other, as young adults, but without the privileges of adulthood. The result, according to Arlitt^{1/} is to present youth with a dilemma:

"The adolescent has been regarded as an individual who is adult when the home and the school desire him to be so, and who automatically becomes a child when again the school or the house wishes implicit obedience or some other type of childish behavior from him."

Meanwhile the youth as an individual, is involved in making choices and decisions of far-reaching importance, which would perplex even the adult, at a time of inner turmoil, instability, and confusion. Sex, marriage, ethics, religion, vocation, group allegiance, and a myriad of other problems of adjustment and association amid a confusion of demands have always been difficult decisions. Today with their parents as confused as they, themselves, and unable to advise them, many are frank

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to confess that they do not know what to make of their feelings and urges or what to do about themselves.^{1/}

"The steadily increasing interest in the individual and his adjustment," according to Rogers^{2/}, "is perhaps one of the outstanding phenomena of our times." This is a normal outcome of the philosophy of Individualism which dominates our modern culture. The tendency is to regard the problems of the individual as self-contained, and disregard his social framework. As counselors of young people, we seek to adjust them to their environment. We do nothing about the environment which created the conflicts and the resulting asocial behavior. We treat symptoms but ignore the basic causes, and are confounded when the symptoms break out again. If we are unable to cure the cause, at least we could build up an immunity.

The problem as part of the whole culture.-- According to the estimates of the Statistical Abstract of the United States of 1946^{3/}, the population will reach 139,621,431 (including the members of the armed forces overseas). Of this population, the age span of 15 to 24 years will account for 23,809,235 or 17 per cent of the total. There is other evidence that the population is getting older in character, thereby reducing the

^{1/} Blos, op. cit., p. 242; see also W. Healy and B.S. Alper. Studies in the Nature of Character, 3 vols., New York: MacMillan, 1928-30.

^{2/} Rogers, Counseling and Psychotherapy, p. vii, Boston: Houghton Mifflin Company, 1942.

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3/ Table 13, p. 14.

proportion of youth. As Melvin^{1/} points out:

"The essential tragedy inherent in the situation of the millions of dependent and destitute people in the older age groups has blinded the eyes and minds to the equally tragic plight of the young people on the threshold of adult responsibilities to such an extent that they fail to see that until youth's ills are cured and the causes removed, the burden caused by the aged will become increasingly great as the years go by. In the final analysis, the only way to solve the problem is through clearing the way for the adjustment of youth to their social and economic environment."

The need is to see the Youth Problem as an inevitable part of the total cultural situation. The behavior attributed to the transitional period called youth should be regarded as adaptive responses to inner and outer stimuli, conditioned in scope and media by the cultural framework in which they operate. To understand it, then, it is necessary to explore "those forces whose dynamic interplay serves to mobilize the resources of the individual and to precipitate characteristic forms of behavior!"^{2/}

If this behavior be asocial it is because youth must function in the cultural gap between childhood and adulthood which modern urbanized society has created. No group within the social structure can function in a cultural vacuum. They will have their being as a component part of the whole framework in accordance with their awareness of it. Lacking acceptance and recognition by overt induction, whether formal or informal,

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If, according to Reuter^{1/}, youth behavior is characteristic, then it should follow that (1) it is true for all in that age span, (2) biological and psychological changes coincide, and (3) these phenomena will mark the youth period in all civilizations. Such he concludes, is not the case. As argued above, the youth period is a product and a characteristic of modern industrialized society. It is the purpose of the writer in the remainder of this paper to present the evidence of this assertion and to demonstrate that the Youth Problem exists because the society which has created it has failed to provide the necessary institutional pattern whereby youth can enjoy a respectable status. Out of necessity it is tending to provide its own institutional pattern (largely in imitation of the adult world observed). The resulting behavior which is asocial results from the conditions which the adult world imposes on youth. The common practices of the group can make any type of conduct right or wrong. Thus behavior is usually not rational in its motivation, but operates within a framework set by custom, habit, and tradition.

The social heritage of "right" behavior--- The more fundamental of these acceptable behaviorisms probably had their origin in man's earliest social structure, and involved his elemental nature. In seeking to satisfy instinctive demands or

^{1/} E.B. Reuter, "The Sociology of Adolescence", The American Journal of Sociology, XLIII, No. 3: pp. 414-427, November, 1937.

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CHAPTER II

INSTITUTIONS AND THE INSTITUTIONAL PATTERN

The cultural conditioning of "logic".-- It is in the nature of human beings, as rational creatures, to think they think. Actually human nature is formed in the cultural mold and most problem solving is conditioned by what the group holds to be "right" and acceptable. The "logic" of the individual, thereby, is predetermined by what has already been impressed upon him as being "good" or "bad", as "sound" or as "unsound". What passes as a process of rationalization, or thinking, is in reality a process of selecting the right response to a given situation.

What is "right" is nothing more for most persons than what is currently held as acceptable by a particular group. Its acceptability becomes its own virtue and it is not to be questioned. Customary usage provide our standards of conduct. The common practices of the group can make any type of conduct right or wrong. Thus behavior is usually not rational in its motivation, but operates within a framework set by custom, habit, and tradition.

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Not all the habits of a people survive. Certain of them are weak or are not sufficiently identified with the welfare of the group. They disintegrate and disappear, or are absorbed in others and lose their identity. Those that involve the cooperative ways of the group and are related to fundamental needs tend to become part of the social heritage of the group, identified with group survival, and are overtly perpetuated in the name of the general welfare, at least by those whose control over the group is established in them.^{1/} These form the institutional pattern of a particular social order.

The evolution of institutions in social organizations.--

Sumner^{2/} whose studies have tended to dominate the thinking of sociologists, stated the essence of an institution as follows:

"An institution consists of a concept (idea, notion, doctrine, interest) and a structure. The structure is a framework, or apparatus, or perhaps only a number of functionaries, set to cooperate in prescribed ways at a certain

^{1/} J.O. Hertzler, Social Institutions, pp. 17-22, New York: McGraw-Hill Book Company, Inc., 1929.

^{2/} W.G. Sumner, Folkways, pp. 53-54, Boston: Ginn and Company, 1907.

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conjunction. The structure holds the concept and furnishes instrumentalities for bringing it into the world of facts and action in a way to serve the interests of men in society."

Thus, as Hertzler^{1/} points out, "institutions are basically psychic phenomena; but, at the same time, unavoidably societal structures". It is important to recognize that the societal structure is but a physical manifestation of the institution and is derived from it. The church, school, home, bank, corner grocery store, the headquarters of a political club, as buildings are but the ultimate physical manifestations of underlying institutions (habitual ways of thinking). They are but the projection of the persons or groups of persons behind them into the life of the community. Through them these persons seek to solidify their control over the peoples involved.

Hertzler^{2/} clearly demonstrates this development in his analysis of the elements constituting institutions:

1. Underlying concept or idea evolved from the trial and error of living,
2. Attitudes or beliefs as to its "rightness",
3. A complex of folkways, mores, customs, and traditions evolved from it,
4. A code, body of laws, or expressions of approved conduct set up to protect it as a vital part of the social structure with all

^{1/} Op. cit., p. 35.

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The institutional pattern as the social framework.-- Socially, institutions function as the framework within which the members of the group have their freedom. They are the means whereby order and stability are maintained. They become the cultural determinants for the people to whom the pattern of institutions are peculiar, giving them their system of values. Around this core of common institutions are built the "embroidery" peculiar to the particular occupations, economic, and political "tendencies" of the individual. The institutions themselves, not the original conditions which gave rise to them, have the connotation of being "good" and "sound", and govern the "thinking" of those individuals.

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1/ "A fabric of fairly definite and generally sanctioned relations, by no means always direct, between individuals of a group in respect to one another, as, for example, in the state, rank, family, ceremonial relations; or to some external object, as in property; or to both, as in art, science, and industry." (Ibid, p.41).

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association of persons formed around institutions.^{1/} It is the pattern of institutions which forms the group of persons into a society. Within that society, the members of a particular institution will, particularly in a modern urbanized community, belong to many other institutions. They will not, however, belong to the same ones, but will form an intricate, interlaced pattern of associations. Thus, members of a church may also be members of the same political party and the same fraternal group, but work in different business establishments, and each maintain separate homes. Likewise the employees of a certain business concern will attend different churches and be of different political "faiths".

To the extent that persons belong to the same institutional organizations they share "common interests". Since the function of institutions is to provide socially acceptable ways of satisfying needs, regulate and standardize conduct, and mold spontaneous action in harmony with group interests, -- these persons will enjoy greater "freedom" in their mutual relations than those persons who do not share so many institutional relationships. This probably explains the tendency of persons of the same religious faith, political party, etc., to form cliques in a business concern. Usually, "birds of a feather flock together". It is not so much that they are alike as they have been made alike.

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Society is a vast complex of innumerable elements, causally and reciprocally interrelated. Forces are in continued and inextricable interplay, mutually affecting each other in innumerable ways. The framework of a society is composed of highly interdependent institutions which interrelate the members of the group. For most people today this reaches its highest development and complex form politically as a nation. "A nation", according to Mender^{1/}, "is a group of people which think it is a nation."

Institutions as embodiments of social values.-- The members of the group are so subtly and effectively dominated by the institutional pattern that they are conditioned without realizing it. "They may flatter themselves", said Hertzler^{2/}, "that they are exercising their own sovereign wills, whereas, in reality, they are reflecting institutional fiat." They are so thoroughly conditioned that they do not recognize the extent to which controlling elements of society direct their thinking, their will, even their overt behavior.

Hussong^{3/} concludes that these institutions do not exist for the good of the members, but the members for the good of the institutions. The individual is required to sacrifice some, at least, of his personal, spontaneous, impulsive control for the depersonalized, external form of conduct control of the institution. Because of this, and because the individual seeks

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Tendency of institutions to become sentimentalized and survivalistic.-- As structures, institutional patterns are rigid and habitual, taking on an aura of respectability by their very familiarity. As agencies of control, they assume an essence of being control in themselves and become the criteria of safety and group perpetuation. Surrounded as they are by dogma and tradition, it is difficult to view them objectively as merely means of social expediency. Engendered with loyalty and pride, it is not easy to discount them as being of no value in themselves, neither good nor bad. The final test is the extent to which they promote or prevent the attainment of the group welfare as it is related to the general welfare of the whole society. The good of the part, of necessity, is but the reflection of the good of the whole.

It is the insidious tendency of institutions, for the most part, to become inflexible and survivalistic. Hertzler^{1/} says, "It seems to be in the nature of institutions to outlive their usefulness". They seem to have a sort of gruesome immortality--

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an immortality of form, but not of the spirit, becoming mechanical and unchangeable in operation. In almost a senseless manner, they require observances although the reasons may long since have been lost. Sentiment replaces reason, feeling is substituted for logic. The studies of Roethlisberger and Dickson^{1/} at Western Electric clearly demonstrate the importance of sentiment even in industrial relations.

As they pointed out^{2/}:

"From this point of view the behavior of no one person in an industrial organization, from the very top to the very bottom, can be regarded as motivated by strictly economic or logical considerations. Routine patterns of interaction involve strong sentiments. Each group in the organization manifests its own powerful sentiments. Noneconomic motives, interests, and processes, as well as economic, are fundamental in behavior in business... Man is not merely -- in fact is very seldom -- motivated by factors pertaining strictly to fact or logic."

Transmission of institutional pattern.-- Much of the sentimental content of institutions arises from the fact that they are transmitted by the family to the young as part of the home environment. As a result, they become identified with the family, embodying the family concept. Later, as the child comes into contact with the wider community, he expands his institutional pattern, and likewise conceives of his environment in terms of the greater institutional pattern. In a profound sense, the well-being, even the survival, of the group

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The transmission, according to Hertzler^{1/}, is achieved by informal and formal processes. The former consist of pressures exerted on the young that they "fit in" with the accepted pattern, and usually outweighs the formal processes in effect. The latter consist of the conscious efforts to "train" acceptable behavior through the school, church, societies and other organizations. The former depend upon imitation and unconscious assimilation; the latter is comprised of conscious efforts.

The more complex the culture, the more extensive is the conscious, formal effort to transmit the institutional pattern. Because of its complexity, the informal, irregular processes are not regarded as sufficiently dependable to present the institutional pattern with sufficient discrimination, emphasis, or requisite skill to afford an adequate margin of social safety.

The importance of the family, the play group, and the neighborhood (the chief instruments of the informal processes), however, cannot be overlooked. They have rightly been called "The nursery of human nature". As Barnes^{2/} has pointed out: "It is in these primary groups that our personality takes shape and our basic ideals and attitudes are created". Although these groups do not operate as they once did, we have not as

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Inviolability of institutions and social control.-- It is sufficient here to point out that in these primary groups lay the cultural ground work in the child. In doing it, parents, adult members of the household, and peer-groups merely pass on and among themselves what they had previously assimilated and acquired with little or no conscious effort. As explained above, the original needs and causes have long ago disappeared. What are transmitted are not products of logic but are deeply rooted sentiments. When the child naturally questions them, the answer more often than not is, "They just are, that's all!"

Consciously aware of his duty to condition the child for social life, if only to make him bearable in the household, the parent exercises over him the social controls provided by the communal life. More often than not the parent utilizes the same devices which were used on him as a child. In a rather exhaustive study of social control Landis^{1/} discusses the following controls of the primary group: taboos, physical punishment, withholding of rewards, threats, models of behavior, competition, sentiment, repudiation, gossip, opinion, to mention but a few; and of the secondary group: propaganda, gossip, publicity, censorship, institutions, indoctrination, folklore, laws, police enforcement, public opinion. In a less direct manner, ceremony, ritual, tradition, superstition, conven-

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tionalization are utilized to habituate the individual to group practices and attitudes. Informally, laughter, ridicule, disgust, approval, etc., are used.

Thus the parent applies to the child largely what has been and is applied to him. The parent acts, consciously or unconsciously, as the agent of the larger community. As it is inculcated in him, so he conveys, or attempts to convey, to the child the concept of the inviolability of institutions. This concept of inviolability is primarily an extension of the taboo concept. The youngster is taught to utilize socially approved methods, to respect the inviolability of persons, things, and animals by surrounding them with taboos, and threatening punishment if the taboos are violated.

It is noteworthy that institutional valuation is nearly always the function of a special class, and not of the whole people^{1/}. In any given society, special power is concentrated about the functions of the fundamental institutions and, in turn, are controlled by the dominant or controlling group. This privilege is more often than not exploited by the controlling group for its own advantage and aggrandizement. In this they are abetted by the strong tendency of the rest of society to emulate the more successful members, in terms of group values. Furthermore, as Mead^{2/} points out, because not all human wishes can be fulfilled, the preferences of the dominant

^{1/} Hertzler, op. cit., p. 147.

^{2/} M.S. Benson, Women in the Eighteenth Century America, p. 16. New York: Columbia University Press, 1935.

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always the function of a special class, and not of the whole
It is noteworthy that institutional valuation is nearly
punishment if the taboos are violated.
and animals by surrounding them with taboos, and threatening
proved methods, to respect the inviolability of persons, things
poor concept. The youngster is taught to utilize socially ap-
concept of inviolability is primarily an extension of the ta-
child the concept of the inviolability of institutions. This
cultured in him, so he conveys, or attempts to convey, to the
actually, as the agent of the larger community. As it is in-
and is applied to him. The parent acts, consciously or uncon-
Thus the parent applies to the child largely what has been
guet, approval, etc., are used.
practices and attitudes. Informally, laughter, ridicule, dis-
tionalization are utilized to habituate the individual to group

group tend to become established as patterns for the religious, social, economic, and political life of the people. They become so firmly fixed, built as they are around the institutional pattern, that each succeeding generation is compelled to conform to them.

The need for change of the institutions and modification of the patterns.-- By the time children are old enough to take control, they have so adopted the institutional pattern of their elders that they perpetuate for their children, in turn, the life to which they have become habituated. Society, however, is dynamic and change is inevitable. Inexorably, pressures are built up within the antiquated structure of the institutional pattern and it is strained at the seams. If institutions fail to meet current values and prevent the achievement of social goals commonly desired by most of the masses, then they are working at cross-purposes and contribute to chaos. Society is thereby reduced to an anarchy of uncertainty.

To change an institution in the social pattern is to change the whole pattern. It is impossible to have a void in the social structure. Either something must replace the deleted part or the whole structure must be rearranged to compensate for the deletion. If "nature abhors a vacuum", then certainly society does also.

Such is the condition of Western society today. Our conventional traditions, ethical standards, customs, and institutional patterns are becoming less suitable to guide us. Out-

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moded long before the eighteenth century^{1/}, we are living as Dorothy Thompson recently claimed in "a state of anarchy, -- socially, economically, and politically". At another time, she also argued that the illusion of institutional stability was broken in the first World War, but we attempted to live in a vacuum of false security, and now the second World War has shattered that.

The confusion of mores and conflicts among even the most fundamental institutions today is responsible for many of the recurrent problems among youth. In fact, the Youth Problem is the result of the state of anarchy in our institutional world. All seems to be confusion; nowhere does there seem to be agreement. Youth is baffled, confused, and tormented; but no more so than his parents. It is only that youth, because of the normal anxieties, inner turmoil, and exigencies involved in just "growing up" feel the conflicts more violently.

Before attempting to analyze the effects of social disintegration caused by institutional confusion in the home life, community relations, school life, morals and religious experience, employment, sex and marriage upon youth (which is the essence of the Youth Problem), an attempt will be made in the following two chapters to discover the causes of this disintegration.

^{1/} Barnes, op. cit., p. 60.

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CHAPTER III

MODERN WESTERN CIVILIZATION

The cultural lag as the result of social disintegration.--

In a dynamic society change is inevitable. The pattern of living is profoundly altered as new methods of communication and transportation are utilized, as new techniques of production are developed, and new means of entertainment are introduced. Of necessity the institutional pattern is modified and adjusted to changing conditions.

It is only when the new methods and processes come into violent conflict with cherished delusions, vested interests, or solemn rituals that we become aware of change. For the most part change occurs unconsciously and most people are not aware of what has happened until long after the events.

Changes in the culture, moreover, occur at an uneven rate. The ideological content tends to change more slowly than the material. The conventional traditions, ethical standards, customs, and folkways lag behind the material progress, becoming less and less suitable to guide the members of modern society.

Much of the social disintegration of today is best explained by Barnes^{1/} who declared:

"The most striking characteristic of our twentieth-century civilization is the enormous discrepancy which exists between our scientific and mechanical achievements, on the one hand, and the social

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"The most striking characteristic of our twentieth-century civilization is the enormous discrepancy which exists between our scientific and mechanical achievements, on the one hand, and the social

thinking and institutional structure, on the other, by means of which we attempt to control the new mechanical era."

It is not the purpose of this paper to trace the development of modern civilization, nor is it to describe or evaluate it in all aspects. Nevertheless, in order that the conditions giving rise to the Youth Problem be understood, it is necessary to consider certain salient points.

The formation of the institutions of capitalism.-- Although capital to a limited extent has been present since the dawn of history, its introduction as the keystone of their economic structure by the burgher class was destined in time to change the social structure of Europe and profoundly alter its culture. Resenting the restrictions of the guild organizations which hampered their opportunities to exploit the growing trade and commerce inaugurated by the Crusades, the merchants sided with the monarchs. The latter in their struggles to subdue the feudal lords and bend the church to their will found willing financial partners in the merchants for whom the centralized government meant a free and protected market.

With the overthrow of the feudal system, a money economy replaced the localized, subsistence economy of the medieval manor. Money became the new wealth, the social determinant, and the arbiter of value. At the same time, it established the new middle class and laid the foundation for capitalism. Denied status in the medieval culture, since they were neither serf nor feudal lord, they had constructed a new society.

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Their institutional pattern inadvertantly was conditioned by their economic and corporate interests fundamental to which was freedom -- freedom of markets, and freedom of the mind.

The discovery of the new world gave impetus to commerce and the amassing of riches. Commercial capitalism, or "mercantilism", rose as the wealth across the Seas was privately exploited. Money began to be used to make money, as merchants engaged disgruntled craftsmen, who were denied entry into the guilds, to work on their goods for wages. As a result, the worker lost his control over the finished product. Capital began to drive a wedge between the wealthy entre preneur and the wage-earners.

The dynastic struggles on the Continent disrupted manufactures to the benefit of the English merchant-enterprisers. Moreover, in England the benevolent attitude of the Tudors had materially aided their growth. The succeeding Stuarts by their reactionary policies threatened the free markets on which the very existence of the early capitalists depended. In the ensuing civil war, the locus of government was shifted to Parliament which represented the interests of the capitalists and assured them the legal protection they ardently desired. The Industrial Revolution which followed was well neigh inevitable.

Industrialism fairly exploded upon England. The steam engine, power, loom, and factory system destroyed medieval industrial life. The craftsman was forced to abandon his rustic workshop and move his family into the growing factory towns.

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The new machinery was expensive, on the one hand, and beyond his financial resources; whereas, on the other, his simple tools could not compete with the new volume of production, nor would the capitalist any longer support his "domestic" industry. Freed from his tools, he became utterly dependent upon the capitalist owner. He was reduced to an automaton in ugly and humid workshops, and often paid starvation wages.

The inevitable concomitants of capitalistic development in its early stages were the employment of women and children. They toiled unbelievably long hours under almost inhuman conditions. Orphanages and parish poorhouses often furnished cheap labor. Industrial disease and accident were the natural risks of employment. The worker had no rights except to do as he was ordered or leave.

The philosophy of individualism as a concomitant of capitalism.-- Men who grow rich, however, and who see their society becoming wealthier through their efforts, seldom fail to find good arguments to justify existing conditions. The ideology of the Puritans expounded the virtues of work and discipline. The "factory system" was defended as wholesome and profitable. The philosophy of individualism and the "rule of conscience" was argued in its justification.

Individualism was undoubtedly the natural reaction of the capitalist class to the oppression and exploitation of the Ancient Regime. Under it, person and property were subject to the whim of the absolute monarch and aristocracy. Such thinkers

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as Voltaire, Locke, and Rousseau denounced the oppression of the masses and defended the "natural rights" of the individual.

As Burnham^{1/} points out, it is not necessary that ideologies be true to be effective in gaining support. All that is necessary, according to him, is that they appeal to the sentiments and feelings of the masses, on the one hand, and are identified with institutional interests of the group, on the other, who seek their support.

Capital ownership and social control.-- The concepts of "natural rights", freedom, private enterprise, individual initiative, profit as a reward for efficiency, etc., justified capitalism, appealed to the masses, and gained their support of capitalism. They assured the right of the owner of the factory to operate it as he saw fit and relegated the state to a role of referee, as well as keeping the worker respectful of the rights of ownership.

Thus Modern Western civilization has been established on a money economy and emphasizes the individual and his "inalienable" rights. They are, moreover, mutually interdependent. Economic activity, according to Burnham^{2/}, is reduced to terms of "exchange value" and all things are evaluated in the market in terms of a monetary price. All things appear as commodities, whether shoes, labor, houses, or brains, and have their price.

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Consequently, money carries an all-pervasive role in modern society. Success is measured by wealth and monetary income.

Money also means control, and control means power, politically and socially, as well as economically. Burnham^{1/} aptly defines the controlling group as those "which, as against the rest of society, has a greater measure of control over the access to the instruments of production and a preferential treatment in the distribution of the income".

The rise of corpocracy and managerial control.-- In the twentieth century, inasmuch as the chief instruments of production are the machine and the factory, the controlling group would be those who exercise the managerial functions. This control has been popularly assumed to be the rightful concomitant of ownership. Accordingly, it has been assumed that profit is the reward to the owners for their assumption of risk and for their efficiency of production. While this may have been generally true in the early stages of capitalism when the ideology was formulated, nothing could be farther from the truth today.

The capital demands of modern industry exceed the financial resources of the individual entrepreneur. He has been replaced by the professional promoter who discovers opportunities to exploit new inventions or profitable alliances between industries. He interest bankers, secures funds to promote issues of stocks for public sale, and once the enterprise is launched moves on

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to more lucrative fields. More often than not he would establish a business regardless of its future possibilities, in order that he might profit through the sale of stock and even methods bordering on fraud.

The result has been what Davis^{1/} aptly terms "corpocracy". Ownership in the super-corporations and holding-corporate empires are widely dispersed among millions of stockholders. Actual management is controlled in fact by professional technicians. The result has been a gradual separation of ownership and risk from the control of industry. "So rapid has been the growth of this corporate system that we have hardly realized what has been happening".^{2/}

In corpocracy the widely diffused owners and the rank and file of wage earners have been reduced to mere pawns in a huge, sprawling empire. In the instance of the stockholders, absentee ownership develops apathy and disinterest in the affairs of the corporate structure.^{3/} The complex of managerial processes and the intricacies of finance are beyond the understanding of the average, if not practically all, the stockholders. In the main, they hold their "securities" as "tickets" in the gamble of the stockmarket.

v This apathy of stockholders is further shown by the degree

^{1/} J. Davis, Capitalism and Its Culture, p. 63. New York: Farrar and Rinehart, 1935.

^{2/} Loc. cit.

^{3/} D.W. McConnell, and A.A. Friedrich, et al. Economic Behavior, Rev. ed., pp. 203-219, Boston: Houghton Mifflin Company, 1939.

^{1/} A.A. Berle, and G.C. Means, The Modern Corporation and Private Property, p. 94, New York: The Macmillan Company, 1934.

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¹ J. Davis, Capitalism and the Future, p. 63, New York:
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to which the stockholders are represented at the annual meetings of super-corporations by proxies. As a result, the meetings instead of being deliberative assemblies where basic policies are debated and decided, are reduced to perfunctory meetings in which a self-perpetuating minority secure their interests.

As analysis of the two hundred largest corporations as of 1930^{1/} distinguished five major types of control: first, by complete ownership in the case of 6 per cent of the corporations studied representing 4 per cent of the total corporate wealth studied; secondly, by holding a majority of the stock in the instance of 5 per cent of the corporations and 2 per cent of wealth; thirdly by minority stockholders for 23 per cent of the cases representing 14 per cent of assets; fourthly, by minority interests whose control was enhanced by legal devices such as cumulative voting, voting trusts, non-voting common stock, etc., in the case of 21 per cent of the corporations involving 22 per cent of the total assets; and fifthly, managerial "bureaucracy" without legal device or any material stock-ownership in 44 per cent of the 200 corporations representing 58 per cent of the total corporate wealth.

Thus the freedom of professional managers to exercise their "control" with relative immunity to personal loss of wealth or power is quite extensive. Even though they mismanage the corporate structure so as to bring about receivership in

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bankruptcy or reorganization, they are usually in a position to "ride out the storm" and emerge unscathed. The complex of legal requirements, in the formation of which they have played no small part, are such that managers can maneuver and control the entire process.^{1/}

Dependent status of the wage earner.--- The reduction of wage-earners to a fatalistic status in corpocracy has been effected by the general disenfranchisement of the worker from the property in goods on which he works. Through the "wage system", the worker sells his interest in the products of his labor to his employer. Theoretically, the "price" of the worker's share is determined in open bargaining under the ideology of "freedom of contract". Actually, it is a discounting process of present value of the future exchange value of the good. The worker has no control over the future market in which the value of his product is determined. Neither does he enjoy a position of equality in bargaining for the present value of his product.

Under corpocracy, his bargaining position has been reduced to economic serfdom in many instances where the only employment opportunities exist in the one industry in the area, or where uniform policies have been obtained through interlocking directorates or an over-all financial control of the several industries in the area. The process has been further accentuated by the growth of super-corporations and holding companies in which operations have been reduced to forms and rules,

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The fallacy of the profit motive as a socio-economic institution.-- It is no longer possible, therefore, to believe in the theory that personal ownership insures a strong sense of personal responsibility in the controlling elements of American economic life. Neither is it possible to believe in the profit motive as a sound natural directive of economic activity as a reward for efficiency of management, or as an inducement for risk-bearing.

The basic assumption for the profit motive has been that without the reasonable certainty of a monetary reward enterprisers would not assume the risks involved in their investments. Under corpocracy, as shown above, managers are able to shift the risk and still take the profit. They can pay themselves large salaries and generous bonuses, receive stock for promoting the holding company and later "sell" it to the company at a good "profit", trade back and forth among their corporate structure and "benefit" by the price fluctuations which they "manage", etc.

Other justifications of profit have been that it is the only basis whereby industry can expand, that is a spur to achievement, encourages invention, and that it eventually benefits the whole society in better commodities and more efficient services. While these have been true in many instances, the

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reverse has more often than not been the result^{1/}. Profits have been realized through mere financial manipulations. Rarely do inventors receive little more than wages for their efforts. The rewards to society often entail pernicious control over the institutions affected. And since manufacture is primarily for profit, not for use, the product is cheapened or made shoddy, and at times is harmful.

Were the profit motive to actually govern our economic activities and "laissez-faire" our political control, "it would mean that we should face a constant effort to repress buying power, raise selling prices, and lower wages, or at least a determined pressure to secure at any cost a greater and greater production per unit cost of labor".^{2/}

Opulence and the "easy money" philosophy.-- The profit motive which dominates modern thinking inevitably introduces a wasteful psychology. Nothing is a surer sign of wealth and, thereby, success than the ability to spend huge sums of money on ostentatious dress, elaborate entertainment, pretentious dwellings, and, above all, complete abstinence from manual labor. Since these forms of conduct are supposed to manifest the possession of wealth and characterize the most enviable class in society, they are surrounded with awe and reverence.^{3/}

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Thus the culture of modern Western society is basically monetary and materialistic, and assumes the possession and con-

1/ J. Davis, op. cit., pp. 222-230.
2/ Ibid., p. 226
3/ Barnes, op. cit., p. 61.

sumption of things to be the goal of all human activity and happiness. The Lynds^{1/} found the current belief to be that: "Social welfare is achieved by material progress, hard work, and thrift;" and that: "Young folks today are seeking material advantage, which is just exactly what all of us have been seeking all our lives".^{2/} The goal in modern living is materialistic success and it is assumed to be within the reach of all. Those who achieve it are regarded as being obviously the superior persons in society, thereby making wealth the social arbiter. "Acquisition, individualism, competition, equality of opportunity, profit from efficiency, and material progress are its folklore."^{3/}

The persistence of the ideology of peasant-handicraft proprietorship, the extent of the use of money and wealth as the means of acquiring social status, and the development of corpocracy as a means of acquiring "easy money" and exercising social control, have greatly shifted the idealistic content of the philosophy of individualism. Individualism has come to rationalize greed as "individual incentive", acquisitiveness as "progress", and lust for power as "ambition". This, according to Barnes^{4/}, seeps down through all the strata of society until all the members of society are steeped in it.

Dewey^{5/} goes so far as to place the over-emphasis on

1/ R.S. Lynd, and H.M. Lynd. Middletown in Transition, p. 407. New York: Harcourt, Brace and Company, 1937.

2/ Ibid., p. 409.

3/ J. Davis, Op. Cit., p. 39.

4/ Ibid., p. 12.

5/ J. Dewey, "The Crisis in Human History," Commentary, Vol. I 1-19, March 1946.

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The pervasiveness of the ideology of peasant-handicraft proprietorship, the extent of the use of money and wealth as the means of acquiring social status, and the development of corporatism as a means of acquiring "easy money" and exercising social control, have greatly shifted the idealistic content of the philosophy of individualism. Individualism has come to rationalize greed as "individual incentive", acquisitiveness as "progress", and lust for power as "ambition". This, according to Barnes, seeps down through all the strata of society until all the members of society are steeped in it.

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3. Ibid., p. 409.
4. J. Davis, Op. Cit., p. 39.
5. Ibid., p. 18.
6. J. Dawsey, "The Crisis in Human History," Commentary, Vol. I, 1-19, March 1946.

individualism as the major cause of much of the present social disintegration. He says:

"Put in the language of common use, the movement that goes by the name of Individualism is very largely responsible for the chaos now found in human associations -- the chaos which is at the root of the present debasement of human beings."

The Middle Class as the mainstay of capitalism and individualism.-- Nowhere has this philosophy been more ardently supported than among the Middle Class, the small businessman, professional man, white collar worker and school teacher. Their incomes, positions, social status, demand the continuance of the existing order. They rationalized their support of the status quo. Unconsciously emulating the externals of those who were further up the pyramid of income, they inevitably paid deference to those of great property and power.

The Middle Class generally romanticized the existing order, believing that both virtue and vice were regarded according to their merits. Hence, those who had nothing were perforce lazy and vicious. The penniless were victims of their own vices. Conversely, as the Lynds^{1/} report, the belief is generally held: "That the rich are, by and large, more intelligent and industrious than the poor".

Workers were generally regarded as uneducated and not as capable as other groups. They had been sifted to their proper level in the sieve of competition. Their lack of culture was

^{1/} op. cit., p. 409.

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often cited by the Middle Class as proof of their inferiority, overlooking the obvious fact that cultural is expensive.

During the recent decade, countless numbers of the Middle Class have fallen into the ranks of the lower classes. Many of them had been on relief rolls. Their faith in the belief that there is always work for those who are able and willing to work had been severely shaken. They no longer were absolutely certain that the institutions which existed were the best imaginable. The theory that one's status in society is a true criterion of ability and worth was forced to be somewhat altered by the irrefutable fact of their own unemployment and financial reverses.

The supernatural interpretation of the existing institutional pattern.-- For most of the Middle Class, however, their faith may have been cracked but it is far from destroyed. One reason for this may be due to the fact that the despair and chaos of the Thirties has been erased by the recent war boom. But a greater factor is the commonly held belief in an over-all super-organic social system or organization which supposedly operates through large-scale social forces that govern our relationships. Thus, according to Frank^{1/} whenever our institutional pattern fails to function as expected, it is assumed that some group has been interfering with these "natural forces". The Lynds^{2/}, for instance, found it to be the com-

^{1/} L.K. Frank, "What Is Social Order?" American Journal of Sociology, 49:470-477, March, 1944.

^{2/} Op. Cit., p. 408.

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mon belief that: "Economic conditions are the result of a natural order....(and)....'It is never safe to tamper with natural laws'."

According to Frank^{1/} this attitude arises from "the practice of reifying data into artificial entities and then treating them as realia". They are regarded as "forces" which influence lives and behavior; such as, prices, morals, rents, votes, etc. Present difficulties arise from interfering with these "forces". Accordingly, the need is to persuade people to return to the ways of "sound" business, "sound" politics, and "sound" education, etc. Were we to return, in other words, to the "fundamentals" of such a system and conform to its "basic laws", order would be reestablished.

There are those, furthermore, who support this idea because of their belief that God revealed to man His decisions as to perform social, political, and economic forms and practices. According to them all our social institutions, -- the family, property, law and the state, morals and religion, -- are unchangeable product of divine fiat.

Recognition of secular origin of institutions only means of closing the cultural lag:-- It is only as we recognize the secular origin of our institutions that we will secure urbanity and tolerance toward them "It is less easy", Barnes^{2/} declares, "to be ferocious in the enforcement of a custom that we know to

^{1/} Op. cit., p. 471.

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Society's failure to bring the institutional pattern up-to-date with its material progress by modifying or eliminating altogether such institutions as conflict with new ways of living has brought on an anarchy of interests, a confusion of morals, and a general disintegration of the social structure. This is particularly evident among the concentrated populations of large urban centers, -- in the modern city life. This will be discussed in the next chapter.

One product, with which this paper is concerned, has been the gap which the cultural lag has created between childhood and adulthood, leaving youth without social status. It is the failure of society to deal with this situation that has produced the Youth Problem. Instead it has chosen to regard the resulting asocial behavior of youth as the "badness" of naturally bad children, or else it has endeavored to improve the physical environment in slum clearance projects on the theory that bad environment produces bad behavior. The former is an unsupportable assumption which a later chapter will attempt to show. The latter would merely treat the symptoms without touching the cause. And finally, nothing could be farther from the truth than the assumption so prevalent during the depression that the Youth Problem is merely a temporary condition of the times.

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CHAPTER IV

THE MODERN INDUSTRIALIZED URBAN COMMUNITY

The impact of industrialism and urbanization on the rural community:-- Although the cities have been the font of highest cultural achievement almost from the beginning, the dominant social institutions of modern times have been inherited from the countryside, the rural hearth, and the little village. The typical homilies of thrift, industry, independence, self-sufficiency, and chastity were regarded as the great moral fibre of the nation. America until almost the present generation has been predominantly rural. It is no small wonder that the prevailing institutional pattern has been deeply influenced by rural life.

The rural neighborhood where everyone knew everyone else, where they helped each other, visited back and forth freely, found happiness in simple and spontaneous pleasures, is gradually disappearing from the American scene. Rural life is losing its distinctive characteristics. Today the automobile, the radio, the movie theater, the metropolitan newspaper, have reached forth from the cities and taken in the farmer and his family. Today they are dispersed over the countryside seeking their individual pursuits.

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comparatively strict controls of rural life are intrigued by the anonymous status on the city streets. The bright lights suggest enticing possibilities which they can safely pursue once they overcome their "conscience".

What to them seems to be the "easy life" of the city against the hard work, toil, and sweat of the farm, as well as against the rustic mores and social controls of country life, arouses a deep yearning for the day when they break away, go to the city and seek their fortune. This is in the American tradition. "The great American dream", Barnes^{1/} asserts, "has usually turned around the country boy who has made good.....many of the more notable achievements in our national past have actually been the work of rural youth who went to the cities."

The technological revolution has invaded the countryside and further aggrieved the rural youth. The value of youth as farm labor has been greatly reduced by the extensive use of improved farm machinery, together with greater yield on reduced acreage through the use of hybrid plants. In 1930, one half of the farm units furnished 90 per cent of the commercial food products.^{2/}

There are too many young people on the land. By 1935 there were almost one million more youth from 16 to 24 years of age than five years earlier. (loc, cit.) Increase of poverty in the rural areas is inevitable as the birth rate increases

^{1/} Op. cit., p. 603.

^{2/} Melvin, op. cit., pp 31-37.

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among them^{1/}. In 1929 one-third of the farm population lived in poverty. There is little evidence that the condition has been materially improved in spite of recent government aid.

Mobility and migration characterize American life:-- An outstanding characteristic of American life almost from the days of the earliest settlers has been its mobility. No sooner had the Atlantic seaboard been settled than the colonists began to push Westward. One of the major causes of the Revolution had been the English land policy which closed the frontier until British military forces could be established to "police" the area against hostile Indians. The frontiersmen had good reason to suspect that preferential treatment in "better land" deals were involved. Consequently, when they found the merchant leaders in the New England and Middle Atlantic colonies had protested the policies of George III they stirred up strife until the Revolution was precipitated.

Although by spasmodic surges America moved westward until a continent was spanned, many people tended to remain stationary. Content to live and die in the same town, they have viewed with almost European pride the longevity of their family in a town, or region. Nevertheless, for most people restlessness seems to be an American trait.

Within the past several generations, however, there has been a steady increase in mobility^{2/}. Not only has there been

^{1/} Sixteenth Census of the U.S., Vol. II, Part I, Table.7.

^{2/} N. Edwards, Equal Educational Opportunity for Youth, p. 132. Washington: American Council on Education, 1939.

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an interchange of population from one region to another, or from the rural districts into the city, but also there has developed a veritable migratory population constantly on the move. This last group presents a grave aspect of the Youth Problem. Youth normally constitutes a large segment of the migrants^{1/} and their numbers are increasing. Fully a half-million were "on the road" in 1935 according to estimates of the Department of Agriculture.^{2/} According to the census of 1940^{3/}, the migration of children and youth was as follows:

Table 2. The Migration of Children and Youth in 1940.

Age	Population	Migrants	Percentage
5-13	20,024,827	2,482,956	12.4
14-17	9,720,419	1,011,118	10.4
18-19	5,018,834	674,904	13.4
20-24	11,587,835	2,101,415	18.1

In all probability opportunities in war work was a major factor in the increase of migration. While the depression years in the previous decade had witnessed a vast movement from community to community and state to state, today with the war over and war boom industries curtailed, reconverting or even shut down altogether, Americans are again on the march.

Mobility and social disintegration:-- Minehan^{4/} in 1935 interviewed 489 young migrants in Ohio and found their reason

^{1/} Melvin, op. cit., p. 41.

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^{4/} T. Minehan, "Boys and Girls on the March", Ohio Schools, Vol. XIII:224-230, 1935

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for leaving home was predominantly "hard times". Of another 386 interviewed as to their education, he found that 84 per cent had obtained only a grammar school education or less. Over half of 413 transients had had no participation whatsoever in Boy or Girl Scouts, Sunday school, or any community social organizations. He concluded that "socially desirable interests and impulses had been changed to.....mastery of begging and tricks of stealing.....discussions disintegrate into absorption with sex, revolution, and communism".

Outland^{1/}, on the other hand, interviewed about 5000 transient boys in Los Angeles and found them mainly not tramps in the usual sense, but victims of prevailing conditions. Many were anxious to get work and regain, even improve, their former status.

Schubert^{2/} at the Transient Center in Buffalo, New York, found that many he interviewed had been failures in their school objectives largely due to unfavorable conditions at home. About 40 per cent, or 6400, were capable of handling good clerical or skilled trade jobs.

Persistence of rural institutions in urban community:-- The depression years, then, had caused serious dislocations in education and developed occupational maladjustments. While the war years alleviated this somewhat, in many respects it only aggravated the problem. The abnormal earnings distorted their sense

^{1/} G.E. Outland, "Characteristics of Transient Boys," School and Society, Vol. XL: 501-504, 1934.

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So swift, however, has been the transformation of America from a rural to an urban civilization that the mental outlook of most urban inhabitants are still impregnated with rural institutional patterns and rustic mores. City children growing up incanyons of city buildings, dark alley ways, breathing gasoline fumes, and listening to factory whistles, sing songs about the old swimming hole and the old gray mare. Albeit they have never seen a mill stream or called home the cattle, they can sing about them and select Christmas cards which dwell on those subjects which cause nostalgia to their parents.

The recent urbanization of the United States:-- In the 1920's about 40 per cent of the youth reared on farms moved to urban centers^{1/}. Interrupted during the depression years, by 1935 it had resumed and in the war years it was redoubled. In all likelihood, prevailing conditions in rural areas will cause half of the rising generation of farm youth to leave the farm. Bell^{2/} believes that "urbanization of our population is yet an uncompleted trend".

^{1/} Youth and the Future, The General Report of the American Youth Commission, p. 147, Washington, D.C.: American Council on Education, 1942.

^{2/} H.M. Bell, Youth Tell Their Story, pp. 39-40, Washington, D.C.: American Council on Education, 1938.

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According to census^{1/} from 1790 to 1860 the population increased steadily at the average rate of 34.6 per cent each ten-year interval. The number of cities increased from 24 to 392 in the same period; but the trend of population was definitely into the rural areas. Whereas 5.1 per cent of the total population lived in urban areas in 1790, it has only increased to 19.8 per cent by 1860. In the next ten-year interval (1860 to 1870) one-fourth of the population was urban. The effects of the first World War and mass production industrialization can be seen in the following:

Table 3. Distribution of Rural and Urban Populations from 1870 to 1940.

Year	Per Cent of Total Population	
	Urban	Rural
1870	25.7	74.3
1880	28.2	71.8
1890	35.1	64.9
1900	39.7	60.3
1910	45.7	54.3
1920	51.2	48.8
1930	56.2	43.8
1940	56.5	43.5

In short, in a little over a generation the American people have changed from an agrarian to an urbanized nation. Many of the modern cities have grown up so hurriedly and haphazardly, however, that even the experts were unprepared to cope with the riddles of the new dynamic civilization. Conditioned by the institutional patterns of rural life, they have been unable to

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According to census from 1780 to 1880 the population increased steadily at the average rate of 24.8 per cent each ten-year interval. The number of cities increased from 24 to 328 in the same period; but the trend of population was definitely into the rural areas. Whereas 5.1 per cent of the total population lived in urban areas in 1780, it has only increased to 12.8 per cent by 1880. In the next ten-year interval (1880 to 1890) one-fourth of the population was urban. The effects of the first World War and mass production industrialization can be seen in the following:

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Sixteenth Census of the United States: 1940, Vol. II, Part 1, Table 3.

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The character of the modern industrialized urban community--

An inevitable product of the "factory system" and commercial enterprise, the modern industrial urbanized concentrations of population have created congestion, poor housing, and increased social, racial, and cultural mixtures. As a result, the problems of social assimilation were greatly intensified.

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^{1/} F.C. Howe, The Modern City and Its Population, pp. 47-48. Charles Scribner's Sons, 1915.

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As Howells describes the modern city:

"It is no longer a place of refuge, of protection from attack. It has lost the cohesion of the family and the clan. No single religion unites the citizens; no legalized estate divides the free from the

slave, the master from the apprentice. It is no longer sovereign....It has become an integral part of the state. Its life, too, is no longer local, it has become international. Every corner of the world contributes to its population, as does every race and creed. The steamship and the railroad have made the city a clearing-house.....The industrial city is a new force in the world."

The average person living in the city today faces a wider range and variety of experiences than his grandparents probably encountered in their lifetime in their rural circumstances. The diversity of life and its superficiality in many aspects have tended to develop a haste in living and nervous tension in personal relations. Consequently, the trend toward materialistic individualism has been increased and accentuated. Moreover, any unity of sentiment and community action in meeting public needs is rendered difficult by the heterogeneous character of city population and the conflicts of its cultures.

Need for institutional adjustment:-- The modern city is probably the most novel product of the social evolution and is straining the institutional structure which has been carried over from the rural past. The social controls of the folkways, customs, mores, and institutions of the American communal life bound to the soil and based on the neighborhood of village and farm are utterly incomprehensive of the complex and intricate needs of the urban industrialized population.

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well as with the changed relations of the sexes and the undermining of the patriarchal household. Although these will be discussed more fully later on, it is well to note here that cultural assimilation and social adjustment is confused by the fundamental changes effected in the industrial developments since the last century.

As men and women brought up under, and indoctrinated in, the country folkways and rural mores poured into the meoteric cities, they found no city folkways and urban mores to guide and control their new behaviors or provide ready solutions to their bewildering needs. Faced with the need of making readjustments to an altogether different mode of life, most of them endeavored to adapt the old ways to the new circumstances. It has only produced confusion and disorder for youth.

In the first place, as mentioned above, the anonymous situations for youth in the large city enables them to escape social control and evade adult group opinion. Yet this same anonymity can be a devastating factor of urban living which undermines integrity and disintegrates character. While at first, the sublime indifference of one's fellowmen may intrigue youth, eventually it palls. Without the relationships and obligations that give meaning to life, without roots in the affairs in the community affairs, youth finds itself in a social quagmire of "namelessness" that drags the mind into the despondency of "unwanted persons".

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On the other hand, the allusive and exciting stimuli of

urban life, plays upon the mind, encouraging it to haste and superficiality in mental reactions^{1/}. The urge for the novel and exotic is great. In compensation, either an almost pathological restiveness or a morbid passivity may develop. The inconsistencies of the interpretations, at all levels, of what is acceptable behavior leaves youth without any unanimity of social definitions. Against the "lure" of the city, youth has little defense, seldom has cultural certainty been so lacking or change more characteristic. For youth, adjustment to life is probably more complicated than past generations ever experienced.

Youth are not alone in confusion. The adult world is finding it difficult to bring about any community of interest or unity of attitude in urban public affairs. Perplexed by the asocial behavior of youth, there is no common heritage of tradition befitting city life to perpetuate; nor are there common standards to affirm and apply. Faced with the need for maintaining at least a minimum of social coherence and moral stability midst the exigencies of urban life, at best they utter the outworn postulates of behavior in which they, themselves, are unsure.

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Lindeman^{1/} account for the development of the following institutions which have emerged as substitutes for the neighborhood and rural associations:

1. Functional groups: trade, unions, chambers of commerce, manufacturers' associations, etc. (Primarily for specific interests).
2. Occupational groups: medical societies, engineering societies, etc. (Primarily for professional interests.)
3. Philanthropic and reform groups: (primarily to reform social organization or to protect the less fortunate.)
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6. Memory groups: alumni associations, veteran's societies, etc. (Projection of past experience into present.)
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^{1/} N. Anderson, and Lindeman, E.C. Urban Sociology, pp. 298-299
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activity groups, such as the Boy and Girl Scouts, community centers, etc. But they reach only a small portion of the urban peoples. More often than not they fail to appeal to, or reach, those for whom there is the greatest need. Whether because of apathy, lack of financial means, or pure disinterestedness, a sizable part of the urban population have little chance to lead "the more abundant life".^{1/} Squalid and deprived homes in congested areas of the modern city exert a powerful force promoting social disintegration, family instability, and asocial behavior.

Large areas of the large city are without adequate social controls and institutional restraints essential to social unity. It is possible, according to Vold^{2/}, for children to grow up in an area where "the total effect of the life organization..... is one in which delinquency is the natural, normal behavior expected of him by his associates, including frequently his parents and others in the adult world." Under these conditions the child grows up in a criminal culture. Instead of the conventional institutions of the "law-abiding" community, he knows only the illicit mores of gambling, prostitution, the "shake-down", easy money, liquor, and graft.

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On the other hand, it is well to recognize that these areas are not entirely the "root of the evil" inasmuch as many individuals live in them apparently impervious to the degrading influence. They grow up fulfilling useful functions and living within the law. Some actually become leaders for civic reform and community improvement. Nevertheless, the squalor and pernicious atmosphere hardly enhances weakness of character or promotes integrity of mind. It is difficult to rationalize the existence of these "delinquency areas" in the name of human progress.

It is important to recognize, moreover, that these conditions are detrimental to youth, particularly where youth is without status, because urban society has failed to provide the institutional basis. The failure to recognize this need, not only that it exists, but also that it is increasing, is one of the major aspects of the Youth Problem.

Today, the occupational problems of youth are complex. Not only, for the urban youth particularly, does the normal family life fail to provide vocational experience, but also youth must seek work in competition with adults against definite barriers which have been erected against them.

The element of competition, moreover, emphasizes the prevailing philosophy of individualism in a period of life when strain and discord are most pronounced. Starting at the bottom,

1/ America's Needs and Resources. New York: The Twentieth Century Fund, 1947.
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CHAPTER V

THE ECONOMIC ASPECT: EMPLOYMENT AND UNEMPLOYMENT

Americans have harnessed machine power and now, according to a recent study^{1/}, stand on the threshold of a new era of shorter working hours, higher incomes, and a better way of life. Whether we will handle our new productive capacity intelligently to achieve the greatest good for the greatest number will depend to a large degree upon our youth. The next age is theirs; but the responsibility for training their capacities and developing their minds is ours.

Competition with adults.-- In simple society occupations were ordinarily chosen early, dictated largely by the environment. Training began more or less naturally in childhood and extended through adolescence. Entry into full employment was comparatively mechanical upon reaching adulthood^{2/}. Today, the occupational problems of youth are complex. Not only, for the urban youth particularly, does the normal family life fail to provide vocational experience, but also youth must seek work in competition with adults against definite barriers which have been erected against them.

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of necessity, their subordinated occupational position only tends to emphasize their lack of status. The necessity of having to make specific choices upon which their future welfare depends, as well as being made aware of the need for intensive training if they are going to be "somebody", tends to increase the strain. Failure emphasizes a sense of inadequacy at the very moment youth is at the threshold of realizing their aptitudes and abilities.

Youth as a handicap.-- For the first time in our history, young people are living in an era in which their youth is a definite handicap in seeking employment. Regardless of their preparation, they face a labor market which, because of technological development, is shrinking in its demands for manpower. At the same time, they are confronted with the priority of veterans, as well as of those who have an advantage of age, work experience, and unionization.

According to the U. S. Department of Labor,^{1/}

"Job requirements are being tightened, fewer opportunities are present, remuneration and possibilities of advancement are much less, and in the event of an economic depression of any magnitude, youth will face serious employment problems."

On the other hand, youth's struggle for emotional independence and status is not rendered less difficult when they are forced to remain financially and economically dependent on their families. The parents who still support youth seldom grant the

^{1/} Educational and Employment Opportunities for Youth, pp. 8-9, Interagency Committee on Youth Employment and Education, Washington, D.C., September, 1946.

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IV. Vocational and Employment Opportunities for Youth, pp. 8-11
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complete freedom of thought and action essential to their developing maturity. Bell^{1/} found 80 per cent of youth at the median age of 20.4 years living in their parents' home in Maryland cities. He also found one half of the married youth under the parental roof. Although actual data are not available, it is quite probable that these conditions hold for many urban populations today, particularly in view of the current housing shortage.

Judd^{2/} makes the observation that society:

"... seems to shut its eyes to a fact which is perfectly clear to anyone who studies the youth problem; namely, that there has in recent decades been so complete a dislocation of young people in the industrial and economic systems of this country that something new and radical has to be devised."

Social significance of employment.-- Without money one is seriously handicapped in securing the material means for enjoying life. As for exercising personal choice, it is well nigh impossible. Consequently, money has assumed importance as a symbol of strength and independence. It is almost essential to the self-respect of the maturing individual. It is generally true that the average child, especially in cities, receives an "allowance" to spend as his own. Generally it is little more than a mere pittance, and hardly enough to afford experience in the intelligent handling of money. More often than not it is delivered to the child as a special favor or concession. It fails utterly to convey the values to be derived from

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^{2/} C.H. Judd, "The Real Youth Problem," School and Society, p. 31, Vol. 55, January 10, 1942.

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the experience of earning money through honest effort and useful service. To earn money through one's labor, handle it intelligently by budgeting it over alternative choices, is an essential part of every young person's education.

Economic independence, moreover, is a concomitant of social freedom and maturity. As a recognized member of the community, vocational and social status is essential. The same concern to secure the right to freely participate economically and socially in the community is manifest among privileged youth as avidly as in underprivileged youth. For all youth, a job assumes social as well as economic significance.

Not only does remunerative employment become an essential factor of status, but also each job or position becomes a carrier of social value. As youth advances occupationally, they pass from one socio-occupational group to another^{1/}. The necessity of adjustment to a new institutional pattern and ideologies emphasizes the social significance.

Conversely, to fail to secure employment or to have to take a job paying smaller wages causes the youngster mental turmoil. Because of the symbolic value which the "job" has assumed in his mind, the youth faces what to him is irrefutable proof of his inadequacy. He is forced to question his capacity to function on a mature level. He regards himself as rejected by the community.

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The Status of Youth Employment

The extent and nature of gainful employment among youth.--

Bell^{1/} in his Maryland study (1938) found:

"Of every ten youth (16 to 20 years of age) in the labor market approximately five were employed on full time jobs, one had some kind of part time work, and the remaining four had neither the constructive activities of the school nor the absorption of jobs to fill their empty days."

According to the 1940 census^{2/} over one-fifth of the 16-17 year old group were employed; over half of the 18-19 year old; and two-thirds of the 20-24 year old. Of greater significance was the 1,656,347 youth 18 to 24 years of age who were seeking employment.

Table 4. Gainful Workers -- 1940

Age	Population	Employed	Percent	Seeking Work	Percent
14-15	4,828,249	249,521	5.2	38,052	0.8
16-17	4,892,170	1,029,291	21.0	289,138	5.9
18-19	5,018,834	2,645,289	52.7	618,631	12.3
20-24	11,587,835	7,670,549	66.2	1,037,716	8.9

The occupational distribution for 1910, according to the following data by Edwards^{3/}, shows that children were predominantly employed in agriculture. As they grew older, they tended to change employment into manufacturing, domestic service, clerical, and trade respectively. The trend was probably explained by higher wages and shorter hours, excepting in

^{1/} Op. cit., p. 105.

^{2/} Sixteenth Census of U.S., Vol.III, Table 5, p. 19.

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Table 5. Gainful Workers -- 1910

	Distribution by Age Groups			
	Total	10-13	14-15	16-20
All occupations	38,167,336	895,976	1,094,249	5,463,223
Agric, forestry, etc.	12,659,082	800,135	632,293	1,833,234
Mining	965,169	2,358	15,732	115,092
Manuf'g, Mech.	10,658,657	32,748	228,196	1,613,106
Transportation	2,637,671	2,679	18,123	283,350
Trade	3,614,670	17,519	53,181	429,474
Public Service	459,291	63	474	18,903
Professional Service	1,663,569	578	2,988	161,384
Domestic & Personal	3,772,174	32,633	79,524	576,010
Clerical	1,737,053	7,263	63,738	432,670

The decrease in employment between 1910 and 1940 is probably explained chiefly by the growing emphasis upon a high school education in that period. The recent war years, however, sharply reversed the trend, Zinand^{1/} states: "For every child (14 to 17) working before the war, there were at least three working by 1943". Half of them were in full-time employment. One -third of the 14 to 15 year old group had left school.

In urban areas, where agricultural work is obviously at a minimum, children under 16 years of age are employed mainly in the street trades, and in various small retail and service businesses. Such employment for a few hours a week may be desirable, but not when hours are long, and the working condi-

^{1/} G.F. Zinand, Child Manpower--1943, p. 9. New York: National Child Labor Committee, 1943.

Table 5. Gainful Workers -- 1910

Distribution by Age Groups			
18-20	14-18	10-13	Total
3,463,323	1,094,343	838,976	5,396,642
1,833,324	638,323	800,135	3,271,782
1,118,093	13,732	2,358	1,134,183
1,613,106	328,193	32,743	1,973,042
283,320	18,133	2,879	294,332
428,474	23,181	17,319	468,974
18,903	474	63	19,440
161,384	2,988	578	164,950
378,010	79,524	32,832	490,366
438,670	63,788	7,383	510,841
1,737,053			1,737,053
3,773,174			3,773,174
1,663,569			1,663,569
459,391			459,391
3,614,670			3,614,670
2,637,671			2,637,671
10,838,657			10,838,657
965,183			965,183
12,839,083			12,839,083
All occupations			32,187,338

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tions and associations are undesirable. No matter how desirable may be employment, society cannot tolerate conditions which undermine the mental and physical health of children, or permit serious conflict with the time and energy needed for school.

Regulation of youth employment.--The need for a framework of legal standards that will protect children in their formative years has become generally accepted in modern industrialized civilization. But the observance is more in the breach than in the commission. Greatly increased employment of children during the war years revealed the inadequacy of present state and federal legislation, funds, and facilities.^{1/}

Early legislation, about a century ago, was confined to a few states and concerned only factory work. State-wide legislation did not appear until the turn of the century.^{2/} The depression years aroused great interest in the subject. Yet there are still half a million children under 16 years of age employed in agriculture who can be exploited and often are.^{3/} Legislatures and public opinion generally are prone to regard farm work in a sentimental light and are reluctant to deal with the problem.

Legal requirements must be substantiated by adequate supervision. Young workers are subject to risk of accident and industrial disease which kill or cripple for life. Lacking an adequate knowledge of what can be expected from an employer, they are susceptible to exploitation by unscrupulous employers.

^{1/} Educational and Employment Opportunities for Youth, op. cit. p. 9
^{2/} P.T. David, Barriers to Youth Employment, p. 50, Washington, D.C.: American Council on Education, 1942.
^{3/} Ibid, p. 54.

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Because of the controls which employers exert over state legislatures, there has been a growing movement for federal control of child labor. The greatest impetus for federal regulation, apparently, arose from the fear that too stringent control by the state would drive certain types of industries to other states where "more favorable" regulations were in effect.^{1/} The results of the federal legislation, limited as it is to industries whose products enter into inter-state commerce, are more indirect. The effect is more by virtue of example and influence on state administration.^{2/}

The problem of child labor regulation, however, is double-ended. It is certain that exploitive employment of children is a blight on modern urbanized civilization which should be removed. On the other hand, young people must at some time move into employment with as few obstacles as possible placed in their way. Moreover, youth move more easily into full-time employment if they have had preliminary work experience in late childhood.

It is not easy to keep open the opportunities for work experience in private employment while engaged, at the same time, in regulating and preventing undesirable work experience. The effect of this conflict in objectives is especially acute between the ages of 14 and 18. Progress can be secured to the

^{1/} Ibid, p. 55-56. See also G. Abbott, The Child and the State. Vol. I., pp. 461-471, and text of documents, pp. 472-563.

^{2/} Ibid, p. 60.

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1/ Ibid, p. 53-54. See also C. Abbott, The Child and the State, Vol. I, pp. 481-491, and text of documents, pp. 473-553.
2/ Ibid, p. 80.

extent that the advocates maintain a balanced point of view and stress the need for providing desirable work opportunities equally with their desire to eliminate exploitive and dangerous employment.

The federal-state apprenticeship program.-- To some extent youth is being facilitated into full-time employment under favorable circumstances in the work of the Federal Committee on Apprenticeship. Inaugurated in 1937 by an act of Congress to expand industry for the growing needs of preparation for war, the new apprenticeship programs "are benefitting greatly from the development of a mature philosophy of relationships between employers, trade unions, the apprentice and his parents, and governmental agencies concerned with labor standards."^{1/}

Highly essential to American economic life are several million mechanics and craftsmen. Competence in these trades is developed only through several years of intensive practice, training, and practical experience. Much of it can be acquired only in the actual industrial environment. In European industrialized centers, and in the past century in this country, indentured apprenticeship was the common source of supply.

Entry-job requirements.-- Much nonsense prevails today regarding the training which youth must obtain prior to seeking employment. In the Middle Class, particularly, youth is hampered by the emphasis of their parents on "white collar"

^{1/} Ibid, pp. 18-19. See also C.M.Beyer, "Apprenticeship Moves Ahead," The Child VI: 89-92, October 1941. Present trends in labor administration, however, raises serious doubts as to the "maturity" of labor philosophy.

jobs. Machine and craft labor is regarded as socially degrading. Youth are encouraged to aspire to professional and financial occupations for which they may not be adequately equipped. Perhaps one of the greatest needs today is the recognition of the dignity of all gainful employment, on the one hand; and the desirability, on the other, of matching the peculiar pattern of abilities, aptitudes, and interests of each young person with the occupational requirements in all the various fields of work.

A great deal of occupational skills are best acquired on the job, especially at the entrance level. Better the youth leave school and move into industry at the earliest opportunity than force "motor-minded" boys and girls into academic pursuits for which they are poorly endowed. Better yet would be a work-school program which would satisfy the needs of youth while meeting the needs of the community in inculcating attributes of good citizenship.

Shartle^{1/} discovered that one-third of all industrial occupations are repetitive, have short training periods, and require little formal education. Over half of all occupations have no specific educational requirements; only one-fourth require eight grade education, one-tenth high school, and about two per cent a college education. About one-half of all occupations provide a week or less of necessary on-the-job training.

^{1/} Shartle, Occupational Information, pp. 172-173. New York: Prentice-Hall, Inc., 1946.

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pations provide a week or less of necessary on-the-job training.

Bell^{1/} found that training on the job for most entry occupations in industry ran about as follows:

<u>Amount required</u>	<u>Percentage of occupations</u>
None.	8.5
One week or less.	59.0
From one week to a month.	11.3
From one to three months.	6.1
From three to six months.	5.6
Over six months	9.6

Bell^{2/} also found that the minimum educational requirements for 13 million workers in 2216 occupations within 18 major industries were as follows:

<u>Education required</u>	<u>Percentage of occupations</u>
None.	47.1
Some elementary schooling	7.8
Graduation from elementary school	12.1
Some high school.	3.8
Graduation from high school	20.2
Some college study.	2.5
Graduation from college	6.5

Occupational and educationally it is well within the ability of most youth to fulfill occupational requirements of jobs which would afford them essential and practical experiences as well as give them status were it not for current barriers and prevalent, pernicious attitudes toward youth. In addition to those already mentioned, one of the most ridiculous is the attitude: "It is too bad for boys and girls to face so young the harsh and ugly phases of our life. Let them enjoy youth while they can. They will have exacting problems

^{1/} H.M. Bell, Matching Youth and Jobs, p. 58, Washington: American Council on Education, 1940.

^{2/} Ibid, p. 56.

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<u>Amount required</u>	<u>Percentage of occupations</u>
Over six months	8.8
From three to six months	2.6
From one to three months	8.1
From one week to a month	11.3
One week or less	39.0
None	8.5

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<u>Education required</u>	<u>Percentage of occupations</u>
Graduation from college	6.5
Some college study	2.5
Graduation from high school	30.3
Some high school	3.8
Graduation from elementary school	13.1
Some elementary schooling	7.8
None	47.1

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Y. H. M. Bell, Matching Youth and Jobs, p. 58, Washington: American Council on Education, 1940.
S. Ibid., p. 58.

and responsibilities soon enough."^{1/}

Resulting as this does from prolonging childhood and failing to grant any status to youth, it is extremely short-sighted in that it tends to reduce youth's effectiveness in meeting the problems of modern adaptive life. Neither does it permit youth to develop the self-respect and self-reliance which is necessary to their well-being. Murray^{2/} emphasizes the need for youth to learn at as early an age as possible good work habits, ability to get along with others, and to develop a sense of responsibility.

Barriers to youth employment.-- Most of the barriers to youth employment are probably products of the common adult belief that it really does not greatly matter whether youth are employed. Barriers exist and will probably increase until adults recognize that youth have rights and that to discriminate against them is unfair. Meanwhile this attitude has caused entrance to occupations to be controlled or highly influenced by the requirements of training agencies, professional associations, unions, and the government.^{3/}

One result of the legal structuring of child labor has been the use of the work certificate as a controlling device up to 18 years of age. David^{4/} severely criticizes it as a

^{1/} P. Hanna, "Children as Community Builders", National Elementary Principal, Vol. 14: 544-552, July, 1935.

^{2/} E. Murray, "When Youth Wants Work". Parents Magazine, 21:14, July, 1946.

^{3/} David, op. cit., p. 12.

^{4/} Ibid, pp. 102-103.

"nuisance element" and points out that the result has largely been the preference of employers for workers over 18 years of age. One reason, as he indicates, has been the reluctance of employers to become involved with child labor law inspectors. He admits their desirability, but insists that they now function as a major impediment. The nuisance cost involved in the delay pending their issuance is too great, causing employers to prefer older workers.

No one would quarrel with the desire to maintain competence in the professions. But when restrictions upon training for and entrance into an occupation are maintained to secure an "adequate" and "protected" level of income it is tantamount to unfair discrimination. In terms of the general welfare, it is questionable whether any organized profession should exercise exclusive control over selection, training, and entrance. For young people, the effect of restrictions designed to reduce competition is almost uniformly to restrict the opportunities open to them.^{1/}

Effects of corpocracy on youth employment.-- An outstanding characteristic of the growth of industrial-financial integration and the super-corporate structure has been the reduction of employment policies to forms and statistics. Wherefor, when the owner-manager hired his labor vis-a-vis, he suited policy to the person and circumstances. Now policies are set miles apart from the scene of hiring and usually hold the hiring officer to adamant standards.

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For many years the upper age limits have been dropping and the lower age limits have been rising. These tendencies were particularly evident during the depression years. Although there was a marked reversal during the war years, there is every likelihood that the trend will be resumed.^{1/}

Another form of corpocracy has been the development in unionization. Here, also, can be found the super-corporate structure, separation of risk from control, and managerial exploitation. Likewise, in the matter of policy enactment and execution, there have been the same tendencies to increase the distance between the determination of entrance requirements and their functional administration.

The control by the union over conditions of employment, particularly in "closed shop" agreements, greatly affects youth's opportunity to enter an industry. Particularly is this important when employment rests largely on union membership, and such membership is restricted or even closed to "protect" present members. There have been instances when migrant union members have been refused recognition for the protection of local members.^{2/} Other methods of restricting competition have been to charge exorbitant initiation fees, to raise requirements as to minimum age, to impose sex and racial qualifications, etc.^{3/}

Even if youth succeeded in securing initial employment,

^{1/} Ibid, p. 27.

^{2/} Ibid, p. 19.

^{3/} Ibid, p. 22.

inflexible seniority rules may have prevailed. The result has been virtually to tell youth that regardless of their energy, ambition, or skill their advancement becomes a matter of serving time; they will have little influence on progress in employment.

In times of economic stress, a "share-the-work" program may be imposed by labor on the industry. While such a program for youth may be preferable to a policy of lay-offs based on seniority, nevertheless it may prove dangerous when wages fall below the amount of unemployment compensation or work relief payments. Both sharing-the-work and rehiring based on a seniority policy have the undesirable result of barring youth who are seeking their first jobs.

The Problem of Unemployed Youth

Risk-bearing a characteristic of modern employment.-- An outstanding feature of the manorial system in the Middle Ages was that there was always employment; perhaps it would be more accurate to say there was little or no unemployment. At best, however, it was a dubious blessing since, as a serf, man was "bound to the soil" and enjoyed only such rights as the whim of the manorial lord granted him. The growth of trade, the increase of money payments, and the rise of cities afforded the serf an escape and comparative "freedom" from his feudal obligations.

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corporocracy has separated the worker from any property rights in the product of his labor. No longer self-sufficient, the modern worker is entirely dependent upon management for his economic security in employment. Although the popular concept is that the investors and business enterprizers are the chief risk-bearers in the economic system, actually the employment hazard of the modern workingman is quite as serious a risk if not actually greater. Furthermore, the managers are often able to shift a considerable portion of industrial risk to employees by firing them and thus reduce operating costs. This has been one of the major causes of unionization.

In the earlier stages of industrialization, as Barnes^{1/} describes the conditions of the early wage-earners, the worker could fall back on agriculture and the natural environment to sustain his family during unemployment. Factory towns were never so large that farming land was too far away. Hunting and fishing were near at hand. The early worker had much more economic independence than his modern counterpart locked up in huge, sprawling industrialized cities.

Causes of unemployment.-- The failure of current economic organization to utilize fully all of the labor power available constitutes one of its most glaring defects. Unemployment, while not unusual since early civilization, had been largely an incidental product until the advent of Capitalism, arising mainly from natural causes. It has been only since the growth

^{1/} Op. cit., p. 131.

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of capitalism that chronic and cyclical unemployment has become a "normal" condition.

Theoretically, unemployment does not arise from an over-supply of labor. There cannot be more laborers than industry can utilize, because each worker provides by his own consumption the means for his employment. The foundation of modern economy is exchange wherein each worker produces income in commodities and services, and exchanges them for the income of others through money. Practically all production is for exchange, and every product represents a demand for other products. As long as human wants are not completely satiated, there should always be a market for what is being produced and for what can be produced providing, of course, the goods are sufficiently varied to meet with the range of variety in human needs.

It is not the purpose of the writer to analyze the causes of unemployment inasmuch as most economists cannot agree. It should be clear, however, that business depressions, technological changes, and economic friction, as well as seasonal changes, causes a large accumulation of labor reserve to build up around industries. This "pool" of periodically unemployed labor is tending to become a permanent manifestation of technological evolution. In all likelihood as long as the institution of the "profit incentive" governs our economic activity, unemployment will continue to be a characteristic of economic society.

Abuse of the profit incentive and maldistribution of income as major causes of unemployment.-- Production for profit is

governed by the unit cost of production and tends to be set at some point above that at which the cost equates the revenue. Were cost just equal to revenue, there would be no profit. Such a condition would be realized in the long run under perfect competition. To realize profit, therefore, it is necessary that competition be imperfect. In theory, imperfect competition would be the result of greater efficiency and superior ability on the part of the most able and most progressive producers. Profit, then would be a reward for greater productive value and enterprizing leadership.

Such is not the case with most profit, as previously argued. Capitalism has become an exploitive economy protecting the "vested interests" of technocrats, managers, and financiers at the expense of the workers and even, in many instances, the small investors. Adequate consumption to sustain modern industry is virtually impossible under circumstances wherein two per cent of the families of the United States receive over 25 per cent of the income and control 40 per cent of the wealth. On the other extreme, the poorest 65 per cent of the families receive about 30 per cent of the income and control only 15 per cent of the wealth.^{1/}

The recent development of corpocracy with its tendency to control the markets and withhold technological developments in products while utilizing technological improvements in produc-

^{1/} C.R. Dougherty, Labor Problems In American Industry, rev. ed., p. 155. Boston: Houghton Mifflin, 1938.

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V. G. R. Dougherty, Labor Problems in American Industry, rev. ed., p. 153. Boston: Houghton Mifflin, 1933.

tive machinery and methods should increase unemployment in the future. Consequently, organized labor as the component of corpocracy will probably seek to gain greater control over the labor market and restrict employment policies. In that event, youth entering the labor markets for the first time is destined to suffer most.

Trends in unemployment of youth.-- The greater the concentration of industrialized, urban population, according to Melvin^{1/} the more will be the numbers of "normally" unemployed. Since 1930, according to the Unemployment Census of November, 1937, there have been four to six million youth who were not in school and who were not working. Half of them, from 15 to 19 years old, were wholly unemployed, partially employed, or in governmental emergency agencies in November, 1937.^{2/}

The rate of unemployment was highest, David^{3/} found out, at the 16-year level, decreasing gradually to the 23-year level. Thus, the lower the age the higher the unemployment. Bell^{4/} found the same trend in his Maryland study. He also found that whereas unemployment increased above 55 years of age, it was not nearly as great an increase as "the 40 to 50 per cent of the 17-and 18-year olds".

Although conditions improved by 1940, one-third of the unemployed were under 25 years of age.^{5/} The trend for several

1/ Op. cit., pp. 49-50.

2/ Loc. cit.

3/ Op. cit., p. 83.

4/ Op. cit., p. 106.

5/ Youth and the Future, pp. 14-15. The General Report of the American Youth Commission. Washington: American Council on Education, 1942.

decades has been to eliminate "boy's jobs" and, regardless of the war-boom years, the probability is that the trend is being resumed. Consequently, youth faces an era in which economic independence, and thereby social status, will be more difficult than ever to attain.

Effect of unemployment on youth:-- Prolonged periods of unemployment are more than likely to be destructive. Denied participation in the economic life of a community which persists in regarding the unemployed as incompetent or lazy, youth cannot stand the bludgeoning on character and personality. The feeling of not being needed in the business of living leads in most cases to frustration and moral defeatism. Frequently, as discussed in later chapters, it develops a pathological state of mind which leads to asocial behavior, delinquency, and crime.

The unfairness of adult discrimination against youth is clearly shown in the persistent attitude that something is wrong with young people when so many are unemployed. On the other hand, when great numbers of the adults are without employment, particularly among the Middle Class, it is generally asserted that something is wrong with the economic system. Unemployed youth, forced to depend upon the adult world, are incapable of combatting this inane discrepancy of adult reasoning.

Young people, however, are as prone to be guided by sentiment and feeling as their elders. Their behavior is no more rational, and, if anything, more apt to be less so. Consequent-

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ment and feeling as their elders. Their behavior is no more rational, and, if anything, more apt to be less so. Consequent-

ly, to be able to live with themselves and maintain sanity, they are going to "explain" the fact of their economic rejection. Some will accept the dictum of the adult world and acknowledge their apparent inadequacy. As a result, they lose confidence in themselves as competent social beings and easily drift into immoral pursuits with a fatalistic attitude of "so what!" On the other hand, there are many youth who refuse to acknowledge themselves at fault, choosing instead to blame the existing economic and social arrangements. These youth form the ranks of radicalism; but a dangerous radicalism that is born of resentment and frustration.

Whether youth's solution be radical or asocial behavior, society must acknowledge its responsibility for having created their dilemma. In the opinion of the writer, it was largely from the ranks of disgruntled and disillusioned German and Italian youth that the Nazi and Facist organizations drew their numbers. Unless Americans reverse the long-time social trends from which the present, chaotic institutional structure has resulted, creating instead an adequate social framework within which youth is provided equal recognition and status, it would seem reasonable to expect similar results here. As Wells warned, "The world is in a race between education and chaos".

As the writer has previously argued, the chaotic condition of our modern Western civilization has resulted from the confusion which exists in the institutional framework, particularly among urban populations. Inasmuch as the structure has been reared upon primary economic interests, it is not surprising to find many who naturally look in that direction for the solution.

Unemployment only one aspect of the youth problem. ----- Albeit employment is vitally important to youth in modern Western civilization, it is not the crux of the Youth Problem. Those, and to the writer they seem many, who tend to rest the solution of the Youth Problem solely or mainly

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on the factor of employment^{1/} are prompted by two basic assumptions: first, that most people are primarily motivated by economic interests; and second, that the behavior of most people is logical and rational.

Far from being rational and guided by logic; as discussed above^{2/}, most people respond to their environment as they have been institutionalized. Their behavior is predetermined by custom, habit, and tradition. They are governed by sentiments and feelings rather than by logic and rationalization.

Judd^{3/} bluntly asserts, "Young people are at a formative stage in their development. They have needs and capacities that are not adequately met by merely giving them employment." The American Youth Commission^{4/} makes entirely too sweeping an assertion that,

"When,, young people obtain influence under the steady influence of a job and the income is dependent on the job, self-control, self-reliance, and self-support become linked together in the normal adult pattern. work and wages together provide the basis for the achievement of this major personal goal."

Although there is some validity for these assumptions as

^{1/} See particularly: Educational and Employment Opportunities for Youth, Massachusetts Youth Study, Youth and the Future, Bell's Matching Youth and Jobs, and his Youth Tell Their Story, David's Barriers to Youth Employment, Fisher's Our Young Folks, Melvin's Youth--Millions Too Many? (Complete references in bibliography)

^{2/} Chapter III.

^{3/} Op. cit.

^{4/} Youth and the Future, pp. 16-17.

Mayo^{1/} indicates, the capacity of most people for systematic thinking "is chiefly an emergency value". The desire to stand in with one's group, the "instinct" of acceptability, far outweighs individual interests and logical reasoning. Furthermore, the concomitant of acceptance is the assimilation of the folkways of the group and the mastery of its social routine. This is clearly demonstrated by the numbers of young people who are employed but who nonetheless engage in asocial behavior.^{2/}

In all probability, relief in the employment situation which now discriminates against youth would materially lead to a solution of the Youth Problem, providing it was part of a total revision of the entire social structure. It is difficult to see how anything less will suffice.

An eminent historian^{3/} states the issue thus:

"The growing complication of modern mechanized civilization, especially in the more highly industrialized countries, demands a correspondingly higher degree of organization.....Problems which were a century ago regarded as purely political became economic in the second half of the nineteenth century and during the present century have become sociological and psychological ones. But public opinion as yet is not fully aware of this change....and much of the tension and unrest of the present time is due to the inadequacy of our inherited stock of social traditions to cope with the realities of the situation, and the difficulty of squaring the already emergent system of social organization with political theories and social doctrines to which we still consciously adhere, but which are to a great extent irrelevant to the modern situation."

1/ E. Mayo, The Social Problems of an Industrialized Civilization, pp. 41-44, Boston, Harvard University, 1945.

2/ Chapter II.

3/ C. Dawson, Beyond Politics, pp. 35-36. New York: Sheed and Ward, 1939.

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CHAPTER VI

YOUTH AND THE FAMILY

The changing function of the family as the institutional basis of societal structure.-- Institutionally the family has been the traditional matrix of humanitarianism for Western society. Biologically the family is not necessary; but socially the family has assumed the primary responsibility for child education and personality development. Within recent times the institution of the family has shown indications of degeneration. Its function as the basis of social organization, in the minds of many sociologists, is at a crisis. In the melee of social transition, youth tend to find themselves confused and alone, struggling for recognition.

The changing function of the family as the institutional basis of societal structure raises the problem: What of the family? Folsom^{1/} outlines three schools of thought as to its future. First, there are those who believe the family is so essential to social stability and civilization that it must be preserved and fortified. At the other extreme are those who feel the family has served its purpose in Western social evolution and should be discarded as man moves into a free and mobile society of selective mating and eugenics. A third school has adopted a middle-of-the-road policy in that it "abhors sustain-

^{1/} J.K. Folsom, "The Changing Role of the Family", The Annals, 212:64-71, November, 1940.

ing the family by coercion" or by artificial fortification. At the same time, however, it hopes the family will survive and being "thrown upon its own inner strength" emerge from its present crisis renovated and enlightened so as to "offer greater possibilities for positive conditioning of the offspring than the household of earlier decades."

Causes of changing function of family.--- Ogburn^{1/} traces the changing status of the home as the primary social conditioner of youth to many changes in cultural values and ideology, and to the development of new institutions caused by the industrialization and urbanization of modern Western civilization. In particular, he mentions the decline in the economic function of the household whereby the production of food and clothing has been transferred to commercial enterprises. Responsibility for education, in the main, has shifted to the public school, Character training, moral guidance, religious training and ritual, once a vital part of family life, is now transferred to the church.

The removal from the home of the above functions through which children became familiar with the economic and social processes of agrarian society at the same time removed the basis of family integration. The numerous household tasks, according to Gruenberg^{2/} not only contributed to the family

^{1/} W.F. Ogburn, "The Family and Its Functions", Recent Social Trends in the United States, Vol. I., pp. 661-663. New York: McGraw-Hill Book Co., 1933.

^{2/} S.M. Gruenberg, "New Parents for Old", The New Generation. V.F. Calverton and S.D. Schmalhausen, editors, p. 515, New York: The Macauley Co., 1930.

income, but also laid the foundation for social adjustment of the child. They provided the material means by which he became acquainted with the institutions and customs of the family and of the community.

Changes in the psychological content of the family.-- At the same time that the material character of the family has been changed, the philosophy of individualism has had its effect. "It would be miraculous indeed", observes Horney^{1/}, "if the family alone were exempt from competitiveness, since it permeates all other spheres of our life". The emergence of the individual concept, with its emphasis upon personal welfare as over and against that of the group, was bound to undermine the solidarity of the family. Consequently, the compulsory obedience institution of "the child seen but not heard" came into disfavor, particularly as psychologists showed that "militarized" obedience was not a sound foundation upon which to build character.

Modern parents, as a consequence of the breakup of the patriarchal household, have attempted to establish marriage as a partnership and to build the family on a companionship basis. The psychological distance between parent and child is being reduced, but an effective philosophy of familial relations has yet to be effected. Meantime the authoritative symbol of the head of the household has been removed, leaving a vacuum.

^{1/} K. Horney, New Ways in Psychoanalysis, p. 171. New York: W.W. Norton and Company, Inc., 1939.

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Until it is filled, the child is not being provided adequate training whereby he can recognize, account for, and adjust himself to authority.

The modern home is concerned with earning a living as contrasted with making a living as formerly. Even in rural areas, the farmer raises a cash crop by which he supplies the home from the markets. In the modern apartment the innumerable household chores are wiped out. The mobility of the modern American family has altered its social significance. Installment buying and credit sales no longer require the former habits of saving, thrift, and planning. Home ownership, community status, and neighborhood mores no longer exert their former influence on family life.

Calverton^{1/}ably summarizes the status of the family life in modern Western civilization as follows:

"While we rapidly note the passing of these different goals and....the loss of home and family functions, we cannot too much emphasize that (it)..... marks the passing of a way of life. To marry, have children, acquire property, gain a position of respect and dignity in the community, share in the common body of beliefs and affirmations about the universe and man's place therein..these made up a way of life to which the teachings of family, school, and church and the sanction of government and religion were all directed..... The patterns for this older way of life remain, but the social-economic situation to which they were addressed has altered. Young men and women face either frustration

^{1/} The New Generation, pp. 18-19. ed Parental, P. S. New York: D. Appleton-Century Co., Inc., 1936.

in their efforts to conform to the older patterns, or confusion and anxiety as they explore for new patterns of conduct. These frustrations and anxieties are the dominant aspect of home and family life today."

Finally, it should be noted that instead of reducing the burden of parents, the removal of former functions from the household has only increased their burden. Inasmuch as the home is still the basic means for coordinating and balancing the multitude of outside influences upon the child, modern parents are being confronted with increasing influences to watch, to use, and to integrate. The result has been to confuse parents and make the problems of the home more complex. Parents as well as youth are endeavoring to adjust to a rapidly changing world. "The result in many instances is that when the adolescent seeks a steady, guiding hand he finds a wavering one."^{1/}

Family adjustment and equilibrium.-- The extent to which emotional balance is maintained in terms of behavior and attitudes, obligations and restrictions, has a profound influence upon the development of the child and materially pre-determines the character of youth. Under the confused circumstances of modern living, particularly among urban populations, the modern household requires continuous adjustment and readjustment of its members. Any change affecting the familial relations upsets the acquired equilibrium, making anew demands upon the

^{1/} K.W. Taylor, Do Adolescents Need Parents?, p. 8. New York: D. Appleton-Century Co., Inc., 1938.

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adaptive capacity of the individual members of the family.^{1/}

Sane marital relations today, therefore, necessitate early recognition that tension and difficulties are inevitable in the intimate relations of any family. Willingness to adjust and compromise in order to maintain familial equilibrium is an essential ingredient of modern family life. Failure to provide for adjustment and over-concern with individualism robs the child of his sense of security and adequacy. The growing child needs the love and affection of parents if the development of his personality is to be harmonious and sound. Youth, perhaps even more, needs the sympathy and understanding of adjusted parents in his struggle for recognition. "The feeling of adequacy is what gives satisfaction rather than the objective reality of the adequacy."^{2/}

Conflict between parents is likely to affect their attitude toward youth at a time when he needs their help most. Rejection of one parent by the other is often accompanied by rejection of youth. One may turn to the youngster as solace for frustrated feelings, or, on the other hand, reject him as being too closely identified with the offending partner. Either being treated as an obvious favorite or overtly rejected, the youngster tends to suffer and his personality is distorted.^{3/}

For youth, the problem reaches highest proportions when he

^{1/} Blos, op. cit., p. 236.

^{2/} L.G. Lowery, "The Family as the Builder of Personality", The Journal of Orthopsychiatry. 6:118-124, January, 1936.

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is confronted with home life broken by divorce or separation of parents. The inadequacy of parents increases youth's needs for status. In no small measure this has contributed to the development of the Youth Problem. As Landis^{1/} declares, "One must realize that about a third of all homes are broken by the time the child reaches the adolescent -- youth period." Bell^{2/} noted the effect of economic maladjustment on the number of broken homes, as well as the influence of religious affiliation. Changes in social and institutional patterns, as well as in familial relationships, influence and complicate youth's struggle for maturity in the medium of family life.

Need for redefining familial relationships in an industrial society.-- Duties and responsibilities in the household cannot be determined any longer by the persistent familial institutions of an established society. Parents are going to have to change their conception of what functions they individually perform if the equilibrium of the family is to be maintained against the exigencies of modern living. The right of the mother to supplement the income of the household under conditions which will not deprive children of adequate care; the right of youth to equal status commensurate with their financial contributions to the family income; as well as the obligation of the father to maintain economic security when it prevents his entering into adequate relationships with the family are all essential factors

^{1/} Op. cit., p. 216.

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in obtaining sane family life today. Under conditions of chronic unemployment, the persistence of the idea that financial failure is a sign of personal inadequacy threatens family stability. Moreover it tends to over-emphasize the function of money for youth, leaving them no defense against financial loss and unemployment.^{1/}

In order to integrate their wide variety of experiences into a meaningful whole, youth needs one steady point of reference.^{2/} Parents provide a continuity for the child's life and give youth means of cognition. Security for youth rests in the knowledge that somewhere they are wanted for themselves as individuals and that to someone they are of importance. School, nor church, nor any other community agency can give youth the degree of interest and the love they need. For youth the stability of family life is paramount.

The problem of outgrowing childhood.-- One of the outstanding characteristics of the youth period is the endeavor to break away from familial control. Where the child's cultural frame of reference had been parental standards, youth recognizes discrepancies in practices about them and begins to seek more remote sources of explanation. Prompted by their own inner conflicts, they go outside their families and their communities to find a coherent code of ethics, or philosophy by means of which they can orient themselves to their world. They espouse:

^{1/} Chapter V.

^{2/} K.W. Taylor, op, cit., pp. 14-15.

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"causes" with great ardor and identified themselves with "movements" partly as sublimation of the turmoil within; but more to gain status as individuals which is denied them at home. Parents persist in regarding their relationship to youth who are under the parental roof in terms of proprietorship, emphasizing obedience rather than providing opportunities for self-development.

Young people, even when they are in school, but in the minds of the parents should be working, are constantly made aware of their parasitical relationship. Their need for money is often exploited as a means of maintaining control over them. Even where youth are working and contributing income to the family, parents endeavor to keep them socially, intellectually, and emotionally dependent. Parents still seek to dictate their behavior, hold them accountable for where and with whom they go on dates, set their hours for getting home, impose their religious faith, and criticize their choice of companions.

The stronger the family ties, according to Bloss^{1/}, the more difficult it becomes for youth to break away, and the more difficult it is for the parents to acknowledge their right to self-sufficiency and to help them attain it. This, as the Elliots^{2/} point out, is particularly true in the case of the maternal parent. The increase of leisure of modern mothers as a result of household appliances and the separation of production from

^{1/} Op. cit., p. 237.

^{2/} H.S. Elliott and G.L. Elliott. Solving Personal Problems, p. 191. New York: Henry Holt and Company, 1936.

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When the home fails to provide for youth's needs of status and to encourage self-sufficiency, the latter are forced to revolt. The liberties and sense of mastery gained in contradiction to childhood authority are not only satisfying, but often may become an incentive to revolt against authority at large. When the mores and institutions are confused and conflicting, as they are today in large cities, youth have less cause to hesitate.

Influence of the peer-group.-- In their struggle for status, recognition, and self-confidence, youth are greatly influenced by their peer-groups. Group acceptance or rejection is the most meaningful experience for any person; but it is particularly significant to youth, particularly if they are struggling for independence.

It is in their peer-groups that youth can find sanction for behavior that is condemned at home or in the community. Here they enjoy liberties for the first, time and here they are of worth among companions in whose fellowship they can experience security. While children have always been more free among groups of their own age and interests, the "gang" has assumed tremendous social significance for large numbers of urban youth today. Unable to obtain status and denied success and goodwill in the social and economic life of the community at

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large, they join with others who feel "threatened" and find their security in the solidarity of their groups.

Youth spend less time at home than in previous generations. Lured out by movies, dance halls, road houses, and automobiles, they have a wider exposure to activities and a wider variety of living than, in many cases, did their parents. Youth become sophisticated earlier and are more ready to break away from parental discipline. The approval of the peer-group becomes increasingly the selective factor for desirable and undesirable behavior. The demands of the peer-group, however, often run counter to the taboos and mores of the family. It is only after experimentation that youth are able to reconcile the inhibiting taboos of the family with the group standards.

Because of the demands of the group upon them and because of their desire to belong, approval of parents, teachers, and other adults form poor substitutes for approval of the peer-group. Failure to obtain such approval often leads to mental ill health. Consequently, leaders in the peer-group exert considerable influence over other youth. The persistence in the adult world of regarding the peer culture as undesirable and destructive, as a foolish and queer expression of impulsive youth, is extremely short-sighted. No matter how undesirable the conduct of any group may seem to be, "it nevertheless has positive value to the one who uses it".^{1/} It will be surrendered

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only when they find more effective ways to obtain the success, security, and satisfaction they desire.

Persistence of the family as the cultural matrix.-- The modern family is still the most influential factor in guiding the behavior of youth. Although it is tending to disintegrate as a vital institution, and even though the peer-group wields increasingly significant influence over youth, the family remains the essential matrix for subsequent cultural assimilation, and as the chief transfer agency is no less important.

When asked by Boutwell^{1/} as to whom they turned for help in time of stress and as to who mainly influenced their thinking, 1,555 high school "broadly representative of the whole field of American secondary education" furnished the responses of 101,500 youth^{2/} as follows:

<u>Agency</u>	<u>Percentage</u>
Family	38.0
Magazines and newspapers	17.0
Close friends and the "gang".....	11.5
Radio	10.5
Community and Student opinion	6.0
School teachers	5.0
Church	5.0
Movies	3.0
School books	1.0
Don't know	3.0

It is questionable whether these pupils were capable of

^{1/} W.D. Boutwell, "What Influences the Thinking of Youth?" National Parent-Teacher, 40:24-26, April, 1946.

^{2/} All pupils were asked to respond freely to the question: In your own opinion which of the following influences your thinking to the greatest extent: parents and family, school teachers, close friends ('the gang'), community and student opinion, magazines and newspapers, radio, movies, school books, or church?

only when they find more effective ways to obtain the success, security, and satisfaction they desire.

Persistence of the family as the cultural matrix.-- The modern family is still the most influential factor in guiding the behavior of youth. Although it is tending to disintegrate as a vital institution, and even though the peer-group wields increasingly significant influence over youth, the family remains the essential matrix for subsequent cultural assimilation, and as the chief transfer agency is no less important.

When asked by Bottwell¹ as to whom they turned for help in time of stress and as to who mainly influenced their thinking, 1,555 high school "broadly representative of the whole field of American secondary education" furnished the responses of 101,500 youth² as follows:

Agency	Percentage
Family	38.0
Magazines and newspapers	17.0
Close friends and the "gang"	11.5
Radio	10.5
Community and student opinion	6.0
School teachers	5.0
Church	5.0
Movies	3.0
School books	1.0
Don't know	3.0

It is questionable whether these pupils were capable of

1/ W.D. Bottwell, "What Influences the Thinking of Youth?" National Parent-Teacher, 40:24-26, April, 1948.
2/ All pupils were asked to respond freely to the question: In your own opinion which of the following influences your thinking to the greatest extent: parents and family, school teachers, close friends ('the gang'), community and student opinion, magazines and newspapers, radio, movies, school books, or church?

sufficient introspection to assign competently the effective influence upon their thinking. The writer is certain that, in his own case, the results of his own responses would be open to question as to their validity. Furthermore, most of the elements of the young population who are presently of vital concern in the Youth Problem were probably not reached.

Of particular significance, however, was the low opinion of pupils for the influence of the school and the church upon their thinking. It is to these two cultural organizations that a major portion of the raising of the child has been transferred by modern society from the home. The Massachusetts Youth Study^{1/} revealed the same conditions in a limited but more comprehensive study:

Table 6. Percentage Distribution of Sources of Help to Youth in Solving Their Problems

Subjects Giving Help on Problems:	Percentage of Cases			
	Employed	Unemployed	High School	College
Parents	57.5	66.2	72.6	60.7
Relatives	7.7	7.1	6.0	5.1
Friends	6.8	4.7	3.5	9.2
Husband or wife	3.2	1.6	----	0.1
Total	75.2	79.9	82.1	75.1
School	0.6	0.2	2.2	3.6
Church	1.9	2.1	2.3	2.9
Other	1.7	0.6	1.1	1.8
Total	4.2	2.9	5.6	8.3
No one	10.6	6.0	5.2	9.2
No mention	9.8	11.5	7.0	7.4
Total	20.4	17.5	12.2	16.6

^{1/} Senate Document No.620, p.184, The Commonwealth of Massachusetts, 1940.

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It is fairly safe to assume that for most youth the home provides the chief source of their cultural development as it should. Technical skills in psychology, and competent methods of pedagogy alone are not enough to insure wholesome formation of character. They are not adequate substitutes for love, not even in the machine age. However, we cannot blind ourselves to the implications of the Youth Problem and the extent to which the modern home contributes to its development. It is not that the home functions as it does today because it is the best man has devised. It continues because nothing any better has been devised.

Thus, it would seem, earlier peoples reflected in their language recognition of the struggle involved in inter-group intercourse and communication which created the necessity

1/ In tracing and relating the derivations of these root words use was made of Webster's New International Dictionary of the English Language, Springfield, Mass.: G.C. Merriam Company, 1913.

2/ From (L.) *civitas* which, in turn, is from (L.) *civis* meaning citizen.

3/ The word "city" is derived from (L.) *civitas*, a town or other inhabited place. More than residence was implied, however, inasmuch as the daily life and activity was not held in common but apart in groups or clans. The *civitas* implied a common gathering place for market-exchange, festival, or a rallying point for common defense.

4/ Taken over directly from Latin without change of form meaning custom or manner enforced by group sanction. From *moris* was derived *moralis* meaning that which characterizes an accepted way of life or conduct, hence the meaning of "moral" as the sense of what is right, proper, or acceptable in conduct.

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CHAPTER VII

YOUTH AND THE MORAL CONFLICT

Sublimation of mores essential to morale.-- The process of civilization is revealed in the meaning of the word itself^{1/} : namely, "the state of becoming civilized". To be civilized, or to become civil^{2/} implied the capability of individuals to participate in a common society of interrelated groups for the achievement of common purposes.^{3/} Involved was the necessity of adjusting the mores^{4/} and institutions of the clan -- or group-life to the wider society of the temporary union or confederation.

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for sublimation^{1/} of the mores of the individuals and groups involved^{2/}. The failure of the individuals or of the groups to effect communication, whether because of inadequate sublimation or because of the lack of adequate means of communication^{3/}, tended to develop lack of confidence, a sense of despondency, or a low morale^{4/}. On the other hand, successful sublimation or effective communication tended to achieve high morale in the sense of hope, confidence, or zeal.

Moral dilemma as a product of individualism.--- Urbanization, the inevitable consequent of industrialization has produced a concentration of peoples in a confusion of mores, folkways, customs, and institutional patterns calling for a sublimation of which they have not yet proved capable. Meanwhile, youth is confronted with "more moral alternatives by the time he is twenty years of age than his grandfather faced in a lifetime".^{5/} Barnes^{6/} observes that urbanization has

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Youth stands confused between the ancient commandments and the license of individualism. On all sides youth sees natural science undermining the conventional taboos and challenging supernaturalism. The old moral codes are breaking down amid the clashes of cultures in urbanized society. Yet youth is not quite certain whether their happiness is to be found in defying the old conventions or in conforming to them.

As Americans, youth have a heritage in the traditions of moral purity, integrity of person, earnestness, hard work, and the suppression of sin. They are raised to believe in the Christian ideals to be meek and practice humility. Yet the concepts of assertiveness and aggressiveness are emphasized in the competitive system. The teachings of brotherliness and charity conflict with the emphasis of individualism upon acquisitiveness and self-attainment. The concept of success derived from the exploitation and defeat of others is incompatible with the Sermon on the Mount.

The gospel of Christ, according to Davis^{1/}, sets forth four distinct concepts which are in violent opposition to capitalistic dogma: namely, (1) human values are superior to property values; (2) the human personality is worth saving

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Although natural science has probably had more to do with reconstructing man's views of life and social order, little has been done to construct a new code based on science. "Indeed," comments Barnes,^{1/} "the proposal to build such a code is viewed with intense hostility by the vested moral and theological interests." Instead morals have been adapted to industrialization in which the modern concept of Christ is as the efficient producer.^{2/} Materialism has become the "real" incentive and the mysticism of success the "genuine" religion.

Under the guise of individualism and in the name of material success America teeters on the brink of moral confusion. The present cult of self-indulgence and freedom from inhibitions have inculcated in many youth the intention of expressing human passions as far as is convenient and of

^{1/} Op. cit., p. 663

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restraining them only as much as necessity compels.^{1/} The modern youth knows much less compunction for self-denial than previous generations and, consequently, rebel against limitations of their freedom. Still, the incantations of the old virtues form a measurable portion of this childhood environment and leave many youth uncertain.

The need for moral adaptability.-- The fact that we no longer live in an organized society in which the moral codes are established and the ethical practices clear is not sufficiently recognized by most people. It is not easy, therefore, to appreciate the extent to which modern behavior must be adaptive because of the lack of a universally accepted pattern of behavior. "We have in fact passed beyond that stage of human organization in which effective communication and collaboration were secured by established routines of relationship."^{2/} Modern urbanized living places an emphasis upon adaptability.

In this respect the Puritanical concept of sin which is used by many parents and adults generally to control youth's behavior is a definite impediment to their developing social skills. Not only does it serve no useful purpose, but also its use can project into later life a source of distortion and over-thinking leading to maladjustments and phobias. "Cruelty, stupidity, incapacity for harmonious personal relations, and many other defects, have their source in most

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cases in the moral teaching endured during childhood".^{1/}

When youth is summarily treated as "sinful" for doing what to them is "natural", particularly when they are well aware of its practice by persons whom the community holds in high esteem, they are going to become impatient with the crystalized dogma of the elders.^{2/} Nor is it effective to appeal to the "still, small voice" of the conscience which is, after all, only a personal awareness of what is acceptable and condoned by the group. It is, on final analysis, merely a matter of trained response. In the present moral confusion it is bound to become a "whirling dervish" that makes of the individual a moral hypocrite.

Moral sense, or "conscience", must of necessity operate within the framework of a social system and is effective only to the degree that the individual has developed the skill of adapting it readily to the "social system" peculiar to each group with whom he desires to communicate.

Parents, therefore, who impose a narrow, unquestioning approach to moral questions "in keeping with the faith" seriously impede their social progress. As youth their choice of friends is limited and their ability to communicate and cooperate with others is hobbled. A social criteria based upon such narrow concepts as smoking, drinking, petting, or dancing hardly befits youth for modern urbanized life and its moral problems. It not only hinders collaboration, but also it

^{1/}B.Russell, in The New Generation, op. cit., p. 23

^{2/} Landis, op. cit., pp. 197-188.

robs youth of any defense against the ever-present sex stimuli involved in ordinary social affairs, magazines, movies, and even the radio. Rather than have revolt, Landis^{1/} suggests that children approaching youth be frankly taught that there are different codes and thereby prepare youth for the need of adaptive skills.

Only through experience and experimentation under guidance can adaptive skills be effectively developed. Right and wrong should be redefined in terms of effective communication and "feeling" for the ways of the group, rather than upon established and universally accepted precepts. Morals never have been universal in fact, and most certainly not in overt practice. In the expanding social spheres of normal living the need for recognition of this fact is imperative for socio-political stability.

Even more important is the general recognition that morals are modifiable and that the great need is for adaptive social behavior if we are to deal intelligently with the Youth Problem. By the time youth have reached high school, if not before, a rational justification for various moral codes as conditioned by the framework of the social values of the particular group would seem to be the proper approach. This ability to see events in their context is vital to sane living in the modern industrialized urban civilization.

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Moral conflict from archaic sex concepts.-- "The essential problem of being seventeen is persistent, and is much broader than the urge and check of sex".^{1/} In defending a moral code based primarily upon sex behavior, rather than upon achieving the greatest good for the greatest number in effective group participation, youth are put on the defensive. They are in the awkward circumstance of being filled with desire and presented with opportunities for gratification before attaining sufficient maturity of judgment to inhibit their desires for the attainment of a sane life. Consequently, the conflict between social codes and sex expression is most intense in youth.

Whereas they are morally free to experiment in many fields of human relations, youth are restricted to an extremely narrow range bounded by religious and ethical mores which regard infringements as "offenses against the Deity and not merely as against persons or society in general".^{2/} Moreover, we still prize "sex appropriateness"; we curb the tomboy and urge the effeminate boy to "be manly". In spite of current ideas about sex equality, we persist in symbolizing the girl as "demure and submissive" and the boy as "aggressive and forceful".^{3/} But these roles are traditional in origin, not biological; differing in the cultures.^{4/}

^{1/} M. Bentley, "The Reconstructing Teens and the Stabilizing Twenties". The American Journal of Psychology, 18:no.3, July, 1945.

^{2/} Butterfield, op. cit., p. 15

^{3/} Landis, op. cit., p. 45. See also C.B. Zachery, op.cit., p.79.

^{4/} loc. cit.

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Not only are youth hampered in developing socio-sex skills by segregation of the sexes; but also their associations are confused by conflicting ideologies. Parsons^{1/} describes this situation as follows:

"The young person is permitted to associate closely with the opposite sex but is put on his honor to remain virtuous, is supposed to choose his own mate independently but is in many ways still under the authority of the parents, and is forced to compete for love in a rating and dating system that interferes and gets entangled with his fortunes in that other competitive system, the occupational. The strains are somewhat different for boys and for girls, but only as two different sides of the same situation."

The traditional sex attitudes of our modern Western civilization are "derived largely from early Christian teachings concerning dualism of the flesh and the spirit, and the stress of Paul and his immediate successors on asceticism"^{2/} Illicit expression of sex, since it was commonly identified with pagan religious rituals, caused early Christians to regard it as evidence of idol worship. "Consequently the direct attacks upon sex expression seem natural from the point of view of heresy."^{3/} Paul advocated asceticism^{4/} and expounded the dualistic concept that the flesh is of the devil and evil, whereas the spirit is of God and pure.^{5/}

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^{2/} B.J. Stern, The Family, Past and Present, p. 105. New York: D. Appleton-Century Co., Inc., 1938.

^{3/} M. Geoffrey, Social Control of Sex Expression, pp. 53-54.

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Suppression of sex urges Paul deemed to be one of the highest Christian practices.^{1/} He conceived of all Man living in "sin" (the eternal struggle against the devil as symbolized by "the lust of the flesh") until redeemed in Christ.^{2/} "Let not sin therefore reign in your mortal body, that we should obey the lusts thereof: neither present your members unto sin as instruments of unrighteousness; but present yourselves unto God, as alive from the dead, and your members as instruments of righteousness unto God."^{3/}

Geoffrey^{4/} traces how the persecutions that followed the introduction of Christianity into the Roman Empire led the Church Fathers, particularly Jerome, to introduce monasticism as the core of its inner strength. Eventually virginity was regarded as superior to marriage; and man was regarded as an instrument for good whereas woman became a snare of evil. Geoffrey concludes that Christianity "in attempting to desexualize the idea of man,...succeeded only in oversexualizing the idea of woman."

Under Christian teaching the over-thinking of sex serves to increase youth's concern with their bodies and the gratification of physical drives. In recent decades it has been advocated that the desires for sexual expression could be sublimated into other activities, particularly physical sports, thereby rendering the sex act unnecessary. Many

^{1/} Col. 2:23; I. Thes. 4:3-5; Rom. 6: 15,18,19.

^{2/} Rom. 5:10-20.

^{3/} Rom. 6: 12-13.

^{4/} Loc. cit., also pp. 35-49.

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Geoffrey traces how the persecutions that followed the introduction of Christianity into the Roman Empire led the Church Fathers, particularly Jerome, to introduce monasticism as the core of its inner strength. Eventually virginity was regarded as superior to marriage; and man was regarded as an instrument for good whereas woman became a snare of evil. Geoffrey concludes that Christianity "in attempting to de-sexualize the idea of man, ... succeeded only in oversexualizing the idea of woman."

Under Christian teaching the over-thinking of sex serves to increase youth's concern with their bodies and the gratification of physical drives. In recent decades it has been advocated that the desires for sexual expression could be sublimated into other activities, particularly physical sports, thereby rendering the sex act unnecessary. Many

1/ Col. 3:23; 1. Thes. 4:3-5; Rom. 6: 15, 18, 19.
2/ Rom. 5:10-20.
3/ Rom. 6: 12-13.
4/ Loc. cit., also pp. 35-42.

medical doctors and psychologists, however, tend to discredit the sublimation theory not only on the basis that it is ineffective, but also because the very process more often than not develops over-thinking and leads to maladjustments and even psychoses.^{1/}

The maligning of sex develops false notions and ill-formed apprehensions about all sex acts, particularly as to the consequences of masturbation. The idea that masturbation would inevitably result in mental defect and eventually in insanity, as well as physical debility, is still generally held by well-intentioned parents. The consequences of the belief, according to Barnes,^{2/} have been malicious rather than the act itself. He concludes:

"While masturbation should be understood and controlled, there is no doubt that the false ideas spread by purists and ignoramuses concerning it have done a hundredfold more harm than all masturbation since the beginning of time."

The failure to handle sex intelligently, and consequently the aggravation of youth's problem with it, has resulted in a rising divorce rate, the increasing amount of venereal diseases, as well as having contributed to the confused state of moral judgment. About sixty per cent of venereal diseases are estimated to be among youth between 15 and 25 years of age. Sex realism demands that we recognize that venereal disease is the product of microorganisms and not the

^{1/} W.S. Taylor, A Critique of Sublimation in Males. Genetic Psychology Monographs, Vol. 13, No.1. Provincetown, Mass.: Journal Press, 1933.

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S. O. cit., p. 287.

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Furthermore, our lack of sex realism concurrently with the permeating philosophy of individualism and self-gratification, according to Thom,^{1/} has led youth to distinguish no longer between "good" and "bad" companions. He declares that boys "are no longer impressed with the idea that all girls should be treated as sisters or that the boy is entirely responsible for the girl's conduct". Youth are taking what they can get where they can get it. Girls especially are no longer secure in the institutional patterns of an established society. Youth must be given intelligent guidance whereby they might develop adequate social skills to handle harmless relationships short of practices that lead to sexual intercourse.

Inadequate moral guidance by parents.-- Social skills and moral values are not worked out in a vacuum. Far from taking life as it comes,^{2/} youth have a vivid sense of their need for developing social skills. They are especially critical of their parents' failure to provide adequate sex education.^{3/} They recognize that there is "gross discrepancy between the professed standards and the overt behavior of

^{1/} D. A. Thom, Normal Youth and Its Everyday Problems, p. 69. New York: D. Appleton-Century Co., Inc., 1932.

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adults in regard to practically every item of the social and moral code".^{1/} Questions of moral behavior and parental authority are in such a state of confusion that youth must make their own decisions. But because they have no status and are treated as children, they are denied opportunity to work out their problems. Instead they are forced to accede to parental and adult authority which, of itself, is not agreed on what it means by the moral values it defines for youth.

In the absence of any dominant and clearly defined moral norm, youth are being forced to "obey" conflicting orders. Often the result is no better than the lack of any moral sense, and the consequent behavior is condemned by society. On the other hand, youth may develop a pseudo-moral code of letting parents arbitrate all moral problems. Devoid of any social skill and lacking moral fiber that comes only from experience, they grow up to become childish adults incapable of handling even the most ordinary "give-and-take" of modern urban life.

Parents who conscientiously inculcate in their children the mores and institutions of moral behavior for an established society in which they previously had been raised make the erroneous assumption that behavior has the same significance it had in their small world of a generation or two ago. They fail to appreciate the extent to which urbanization and technological progress have scrambled social customs and undermined rural mores.

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As a result many youth are forced into conflict with their parents, and are working out their social concepts in a highly undesirable manner. When parents in the same locality vary as to what age (ranging all the way from 14 to 20 years) they will allow their "children" to go out alone on dates, and disagree as to what is a "decent hour" for them to come home,^{1/} the cause of youth's perplexity lies in the parents. The unwillingness of parents to provide privacy and consideration for "dates" that are invited into the household is one of the chief reasons why youth have turned to the dance halls, the theaters, and the roadhouses, or to the "shady lane" for most of their courting.

Under these conditions they fall into the ways of their contemporaries and experiment with appetites and passion, not from any purpose of discovering and developing essential skills for sane social living, but more for the purpose of self-gratification. Bell^{2/} found that over half of the youth he questioned were used to drinking and that one-quarter, while they did not drink themselves, thought it was acceptable in others. He found drinking more prevalent among boys than girls, particularly in rural areas; and Catholics more lenient to alcohol than Protestants. Two-thirds of the boys and two-fifths of the girls had learned sex behavior from their peer-

^{1/} R.S. Lynd and H.M. Lynd. Middletown, p. 134. New York: Harcourt, Brace and Company, 1929. Revealed conflict with parents over late hours in 45 per cent of 348 boys and 43 per cent of girls in high school replying to questionnaire.

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group^{1/}; only six out of ten youths had received any sex information from their parents.

The inadequacy of the church in moral leadership.--

Institutions tend to become survivalistic and perpetuate archaic concepts by adapting themselves to the interests of the controlling groups.^{2/} The church has gradually become a corporation to perpetuate the established society of the past in certain ceremonies and privileges.^{3/} Organized religion tends unconsciously to work in close alliance with capitalism and corpocracy. Although there is some conscious attempts by capitalists and managers to exert insidious pressure on church administration, for the most part it has been an unconscious process of assimilation in an industrialized society.

Davis^{4/} lists the following results of capitalistic influence on the church which of necessity are also influenced by individualism: (1) to avoid conflict with the vested interests of the congregation whose interest lies in maintaining the status quo, the clergy "avoided radical action and concentrated more attention on theoretical beliefs"; (2) the liturgy of worship has been kept "largely individualistic and 'safe'"; (3) tend to "keep away from areas of social need, even of their own members" lest they invade special interests

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The trend toward religious anarchy, on the one hand, or the tendency to remain in adamant support of the past, on the other, may be explained somewhat by the failure of the church to attract potential leaders. "I know of no other profession at the present time", bluntly states Abrams ^{2/}, "In which the morale is so low as in the Protestant ministry." Many young men who are "called" to the ministry are men "with less training, breadth, and understanding than their well-educated congregations. ^{3/}

The trend toward individualism, moreover, has resulted in a myriad of personal religious patterns by which youth have chosen to live and determine their social values. Not only does this signify a basic change in the religious pattern of modern Western Civilization; but also it creates a basis of extensive moral conflict since many "ethical standards remain mere abstractions instead of becoming living principles of

^{1/} Middletown, p. 402.

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conduct".^{1/} Moreover, religious activity expressed in terms of church attendance and income from the collection plates has little substance for youth. The following comment by Landis^{2/} summarizes the inadequacy of the church to deal with the Youth Problem:

"One often gets the impression that as far as the church itself is concerned, the youth problem today is not primarily one of religion but one of church organization and administration. The goal of the church has become churchmanship rather than sainthood, but churchmanship is too often built about adherence to denominational creed rather than the integration of moral character."

Miner^{3/} states that "there is little evidence that churches play any major role in the prevention of crime". Hartshorne and May^{4/} reached the conclusion that "the tendency to deceive is about as prevalent among those enrolled in Sunday School as it is among those who are not in one community, and in another those enrolled are less deceptive than those not enrolled". The same authors in a study of a school system which conscientiously embarked upon "moral education" found that the system "automatically selected for membership the less honest members of the rooms concerned or else made them less honest after they had joined".^{5/} After examining boys in the Ohio Reform School and the "law-abiding" youth

^{1/} Taylor, op. cit., p. 212.

^{2/} Loc. cit.

^{3/} J. R. Miner, "Church Membership and Commitment to Prisons", *Human Biology*, Vol. III, pp. 429-436, September, 1931.

^{4/} H. Hartshorne, and M.A. May. *Studies in the Nature of Character*, 3 vols., Vol. 1, p. 359. New York: Macmillan Co., 1928-30.

^{5/} Ibid, p. 340.

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Sane sex and satisfactory marriage.-- Sex has important ramifications in human psychology and institutions, particularly in marital relations and family life. Yet sex should be subject to rational control which, if it is to be sane and successful, must be founded upon medical, psychiatric, and sociological knowledge. "The long record of sexual unhappiness and disasters in the past, when theology and metaphysical ethics had full rein, is sufficient reason for us to recognize the necessity for a new era in the guidance of..... sexual behavior....."^{2/}

In one extreme, many youth do not have any clearly defined sex relations concepts. Guided more or less by the current circumstances, they "verbally espouse one set of standards and overtly live according to an entirely different one, insisting upon absolute celibacy for two or three fortnights, living hedonistically for two or three, and then going back to celibacy"^{3/}.

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On the other extreme, youth inhibited by Christian dogma and sex mores nevertheless feel an elemental desire for full sexual intimacy. Particularly, as Thom^{1/} suggests, are young men inclined to caress when modern girl's attire is "comfortable, sanitary, attractive and in general most desirable, (but) offers few obstacles to petting, if it does not actually promote and encourage the practice". Such caressing for these youth only intensifies their problem, and "the struggle between the psycho-sexual urge and the Christian code of morality increases as their affection grows"^{2/}. Rather than chance "losing their heads" they restrain from any caressing. According to some authorities this thwarting of sexual passion just short of indulgence and satiation over a period of years has "very serious psychic and neurological effects"^{3/}.

Thus many youth caught between the Scylla of natural biological urges and the Charybdis of institutional controls are being rendered unfit for marriage and sane family life. Neither their parents, the church, nor the community at large offers them any effective guidance, nor do they grant them any status beyond childhood, which they have outgrown, in the security of which to work out sensible solutions. By force of circumstances they turn to their peer-group in which, at least, they enjoy some semblance of security, but

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"Only recently, and largely only in the United States has the right of the person to select, woo, and marry the mate of his choice been recognized as an institution."^{1/} Since ancient days the couples concerned have had little, if anything, to say as to the choice of mate; the choice being under the direction of the parents. As a result, the factors considered today tend less to be those which make for permanence but rather tend toward emotional indulgence and sensuous pleasure.

To tell youth, however, that such a basis for marriage is not lasting is of no help. Unwise though their love may be, it is the only love of which they know. To minimize or deny the reality of it may prove more damaging to their sense of social values than any dangers in the affair itself. What is needed is recognition of the desperate plight of youth in which, bereft of security and socially denied status, they tend to rush headlong into unsatisfactory mating. The situation will not adequately be solved until a more readily obtainable basis for marriage has been provided by society.

The persistence of economic self-sufficiency as a criterion for marriage.-- Parents, however, are still guided in the main by the old criteria of masculine adequacy as measured by economic self-sufficiency. Even many youth them-

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selves hold to this notion. Were the wife to continue work after marriage either from choice or to contribute to the support of the household it is often regarded as a reflection of the husband's masculinity. Consequently many youth are forced to delay marriage for which they are otherwise ready and capable to fulfill.

Even among parents financially capable of sending their sons and daughters through college or starting them in business there persists the criterion of self-support for any marriage to which they would give their blessing. More often than not, among college youth, the monies the parents are already laying out for the expenses of the students would be no greater than their needs in marriage.

Money is no sound criterion of a sensible marriage, although it looms large to modern youth. Food, shelter, clothing, and all the modern conveniences of comfortable living may be well within the reach of a young couple; yet the marriage may still be most unhappy. Much more important are the tastes, ambitions, habits, and expectancies of the two individuals. Youth and parents alike must be brought to recognize that couples have gotten married and worked together in establishing their household, using reliable contraceptive methods to insure against children until they were financially ready for them.

Complication of friendship between sexes due to Puritanical sense of obligation.-- Many youth whose moral sense

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Complication of friendship between sexes due to faint-fancied sense of obligation. -- Many youth whose moral sense

stems from a Puritanical background are ever conscious of the danger of being committed to marriage by prolonging what, to them, is only a pleasant friendship. Rather than enjoy the full fruitage of an age-ripened friendship, they cast loose from any association that threatens to ensnare them in "an understanding".

The obsession of freedom, moreover, can plague youth to the extent that when they eventually enter into marriage they are incapable of assuming moral responsibility. Having "played the whole field" their whole pattern of responsibility has been warped and they tend to regard marriage as "another affair". Consequently, unprepared as they are to make the necessary adjustments essential to a successful marriage, it falls on them and another divorce goes on record.

Institutional disintegration and divorce.-- The causes for divorce are not to be found in the stated reasons which merely satisfy the mechanizations of the legal machinery, but in the institutional changes which have occurred. Basically, the rapid urbanization of the population and the attendant breakdown of rural folkways and mores have removed much of the stigma in divorce. In addition the economic emancipation of women has freed them from regarding marriage and its sanctity as their only security. The decline in the authority of a supernatural religion and the concept of marriage being "made in heaven", together with the weakening of the rural moral code, have caused divorce to be more readily accepted.

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stems from a fraternal background are ever conscious of the danger of being committed to marriage by prolonging what to them, is only a pleasant friendship. Rather than enjoy the full fruits of an age-ripened friendship, they cast loose from any association that threatens to enslave them in "an understanding".

The obsession of freedom, moreover, can plague youth to the extent that when they eventually enter into marriage they are incapable of assuming moral responsibility. Having "played the whole field" their whole pattern of responsibility has been warped and they tend to regard marriage as "another affair". Consequently, unprepared as they are to make the necessary adjustments essential to a successful marriage, it falls on them and another divorce goes on record.

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Under the persistence of rural morality imposed upon an urbanized society, in which the old social controls have disintegrated, a reshaping of attitudes toward matrimony are urgently needed. Reform lies in the direction of education in social skills commensurate with the responsibilities of marriage. Fear no longer holds families together. Economic security, public facilities for marital adjustment, and realistic revision of sexual and moral codes would seem more fruitful in attaining family stability. Perhaps then the seeming finality of marriage and the perplexities of marital choice would not disturb youth as greatly as they do, particularly as they regard unhappy marriages and broken homes which leave indelible impressions on the minds of the youth who have been innocent victims.

The changing status of girls as a factor in the moral conflicts of youth.¹- For centuries man's status as head of the household was sanctioned by the mores and so firmly entrenched in the institutional patterns that even to question it was contrary to the conceptions of human nature. Of necessity the role of woman was subordinate to the male authority; and the girl was regarded as inferior to the boy. The segregation of the sexes "was almost oriental in its exclusiveness".^{1/}

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The concept of the female's being dependent upon and dominated by the male not only was an essential concomitant of the patriarchal family structure, but also was a natural consequent of the belief that the female was an instrument of the devil for his purpose of tempting man through the flesh into the latter's downfall.^{1/}

When a group of women presented to the National Assembly in 1789 a proposal affecting their "rights", Stern^{2/} reports that Rousseau chastised them with the comment that "not only women's education but their very existence is of value only insofar as it benefits man". This reflected the earlier thinking of St. Thomas Aquinas who regarded a woman as "a dependent by the law of nature, and therefore, more of a subject than is a slave".^{3/}

Modern attitude toward women and girls is still institutionalized to regard their "proper sphere" as the home and their "normal functions" as getting married, raising babies, and running the household. Until recent decades, many girls in every sense contributed to the welfare of the family as

^{1/} E. Power, "The Position of Women", The Legacy of the Middle Ages, C.E. Crump and E. F. Jacobs, eds. London: Oxford University Press, 1926. Miss Power points out that outside the religious orders the idea of woman's evil nature was not taken too seriously except to subordinate their status. She also develops the dual role of women, in keeping with the dualistic interpretation of the world, whereby the "lady" of the manor grew as the mundane counterpart of the cult of the Holy Virgin. The burghers, while the "showed a greater sense of the normal personality of women", nevertheless accepted the prevailing ideas about marriage and woman's role in the household as part of the "dispensation of nature" which has persisted into the present day.

^{2/} B. J. Stern, "Women: Position of in Historical Society," Encyclopedia of the Social Sciences, Vol. XV, pp. 442-446.

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One of the chief social repercussions of the Industrial Revolution and of the resulting cult of individualism has been the change in women's status. Yet it is difficult to appreciate how brief a span lies between the days when women themselves accepted their subordinate status and when they achieved their present emancipation. Although the factory system enabled them to participate in economic activity outside the household, the early occupations were menial rather than uplifting. In the first half of the nineteenth century, however, Calbourn^{2/} reports, "Women formed, roughly speaking, two-thirds to three-fourths, and in some places as much as nine-tenths, of the total number of factory operatives".

The economic and social inferiority expected of women and girls for generations has recently been reversed. Consequently, youth of both sexes are perplexed about proper boy-girl relationships in the confusion between persistent institutional attitudes and the irrefutable facts of girl's self-sufficiency. The hand that can rock the cradle can

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The result, opines Butterfield,^{2/} has been disastrous to the male ego. It is difficult for the average American husband to endure the thought of his wife's being financially independent, particularly when she earns more than he.

"What they believe relatives and friends will think of them is also a very powerful influence in determining their happiness in such situation."^{3/} Unmarried male youth suffers in being mentally unable to date girls whose income is greater than theirs, and their suffering is greatly increased in unemployment.

The emancipation of girls and the changed functions of the modern urban household no longer capable of "employing" older daughters have greatly extended the scope of the Youth Problem. Fedder^{4/} paints the following grave picture of the social consequences of unemployed girls:

"At first they do rebel. Then gradually they adjust to whatever circumstances befall. The dis-integrate -- stagnate intellectually, emotionally and morally. A few eventually become adjusted in a job or in marriage; the others may go insane, commit suicide, embark on a criminal career, become prostitutes, or drift aimlessly."

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On the other hand, the social and economic freedom of girls is largely unrecognized by the institutional patterns which were evolved to protect them in their former subordinated status. The social formalities and social etiquette requiring proper introduction and parental sanction were intended to protect "maidenly reticence" from unwelcome attentions of the male sex, and to maintain their virginity until they were ready to be "given in marriage".

The automobile, road houses, dance halls, movies, and magazines, together with the breakdown of the social controls of rural mores in large urban populations, contribute to arousing sexual desires in many girls at a much earlier age than was true of former generations.^{1/} The modern girl "is willing to seek as well as be sought".^{2/} They do not hesitate to "pick up" casual acquaintanceship on the streets of the city, secure in the anonymity of urban society. Nor do they hesitate to ask their boy friends for dates to the shock of their parents, who, unable to accept this revision of social custom, remonstrate with them about "improper" behavior.^{3/}

The modern girl mingles with boys on her own terms, and tends to set her code of behavior by the peer-group rather than by those of her elders.^{4/} Until such time as

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^{2/} Butterfield, op. cit., p. 55.

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^{4/} Landis, op. cit., p. 76. See also M. Mead, *Coming of Age in Samoa*, Ch. 14. New York: Wm. Morrow and Company, 1928.

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a sensible institutional pattern covering sex, morality, dating, and courtship can be worked for modern youth, there is a vital need for developing sane adaptive behavior and commensurate social skills whereby girls can cope with individualism in sexual relationships and the conflicting standards of complex society. Not only are parents unable to maintain strict supervision of their daughters, but also they are as confused and perplexed.

It is, so to speak, the middle range of behavior in which the deviations are comparatively minor and are hardly noticeable. Ordinarily these differences are satisfactorily adjusted; enough at least so that the persons involved "get along".

Neurotic Youth

The neurotic personality.-- When, however, a person's ability to relate himself to the reality about him is diminished or "blocked" by emotional pressures, but whose mentality is otherwise unaffected, he experiences a feeling of unreality which develops in him a sense of difference from, and inferiority to, other people. He becomes incapable of responding adequately to a given situation, particularly social, and tends to avoid anything in the nature of having to make a decision or to undertake action of his own volition. Instead he prefers ideas, above all

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CHAPTER VIII

NEUROTIC YOUTH AND ASOCIAL BEHAVIOR

Most youth are normal in the sense that normal is what most youth are. Normalcy is a palindromic convenience whereby we can discern deviations from "normal" or from the expected characteristics of the average. Actually a normal person is a theoretical phenomena and does not exist in reality. It is, so to speak, the middle range of behavior in which the deviations are comparatively minor and are hardly noticeable. Ordinarily these differences are satisfactorily adjusted; enough at least so that the persons involved "get along".

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abstract ideas, feeling that the "burden of decision is the burden of possible sin".^{1/}

The tendency to "overthink" the situation and substitute "reasons" for reality is summarized by Mayo^{2/} as follows:

"He will suffer a diminished power of quick adaptation to actual situations, especially the social; he will be unable for the time being, to prevent himself from thinking in an exaggerated and distorted fashion about himself and other people."

The tendency toward neurotic personality in youth.-- In the struggle for independence from parental authority and the adult restraints of childhood, youth tend to develop ambivalent feelings. This has been the "struggle between generations" since early civilization. Given a favorable atmosphere and sympathetic adults together with adequate economic and social provisions for successful transition into adulthood, the young man or young woman eventually gains insight as to his obsessions and their causes, and makes a reasonably satisfactory adjustment, and "even those of great intensity, frequently disappear entirely in early adulthood without leaving any traces of deviating behavior".^{3/} Or else the normative impact of an established society and its cultural conformities, argues Thom,^{4/} "tends to obscure

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the wide range of individual uniqueness back into the inner life, into the 'private world' of the growing person".

The development of the modern, industrialized, urban community, however, together with the gradual undermining of the rural neighborhood and its social controls has left youth without an adequate social basis for developing self-reliance and for building satisfactory relationships, unless they are willing to remain in a prolonged period of childhood or, on the other hand, accept the obligations of adulthood without any of its privileges. Frustrated by lack of social status and rendered economically impotent, many youth are tending to develop neurotic characters^{1/} which express themselves in juvenile delinquency and psychopathic personality.

The development of a cultural lag in the institutional patterns which have not kept pace with the changes in the societal structure caused by the development of technological processes and industrialization has caused many youth to lose their bearings. The conflicts which develop from within between their concepts of socially desirable

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behavior, inculcated during childhood, and the institutions of the various groups with which they come in contact today create strain and stress which prove more than they can handle.

There is a breaking point in the stability of every individual at which, if prolonged, character disintegrates and personality becomes maladjusted. Then the individual undertakes behavior which he believes will afford escape and thereby lessen the tension; or else he turns aggressive and seeks to batter down what he believes to be the source of his troubles. "Both," the Elliotts^{1/} argue, "are symptomatic of the same kind of difficulty." The very nature of the modern Western civilization makes it more difficult for youth to find themselves than several decades ago.

Frustration a necessary component of daily living.--

Not only in the normal struggle for independence from parental restraint, but also in the exigencies of finding themselves in the conflicts and turmoil of modern living, youth experience frustration on every hand. As Alexander^{2/} comments, frustration for the normal adult "as a central phenomenon still glares into his eyes as a universal experience". Frustration and satisfaction are conjoined; one without the other is hardly conceivable. To seek the latter without accepting the risk of the former is an unrealistic

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attitude fraught with danger to the development of maturity.

The problems which tend to develop neurotic behavior in many youth are somewhat the same as those faced by normal youth in our culture. All youth are confronted with the conflicts between the demands of competition and the desire for security, between egocentricity and solidarity, self-aggrandizement and feelings of inferiority, the drives toward independence and the thirst for love and affection.

The difference between normal youth and the neurotic, as

^{1/} Horney describes it is that:

".....in the neurotic these contradictory tendencies reach a higher peak,the trends on both sides of the conflicts are more imperative, as a result of his greater amount of underlying anxiety, so he is unable to find any satisfactory solution."

The feeling of not being needed.-- The dilemma of youth leaves them feeling rejected by society and, consequently, with diminished self-confidence and a sense of helplessness in a hostile world. Since the ideology of capitalism measures success by pecuniary achievement, youth denied gainful employment cannot help but reach the conclusion that they are not needed. When anyone has cause to doubt his usefulness in society, the basis for maladjustment is established. His need for self-esteem will lead him into activities which promise some satisfaction and semblance of success, albeit the community at large may condemn them.

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Self-realization of youth develops as they find out by experimenting how it feels to be this or that. Any stamp of approval which any group affords them brings some measure of confidence and a sense of belonging. When youth feel rejected by society, they turn to the group which sharing their anxieties and, sensing the same hostilities and rejection, give them sanctuary and approval; that is, they turn to their peer-groups. But it is not a panacea which will lessen their inner conflicts.

Society cannot postpone the problems of youth, nor can it make their decisions easy. It can, however, measurably alleviate the discord and confusion amid which youth are forced to make their choices by recognizing their right to social status and provide a sane basis upon which they can experiment for self-realization in socially acceptable activities. But it seems dubious that the adult world is capable of doing this until there is a greater recognition of the conflicting elements of our industrialized culture and its tendency to develop neurotic behavior in youth.

Bases for neuroses in industrialized urban civilization.-- As Horney^{1/} argues, the fact that most people in modern urban civilization have to contend with the same problems "suggests the conclusion that these problems have been created by the specific life conditions existing in that culture". In former cultures based on an established

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Today there are no institutional patterns by which youth can deal adequately with their problems. In a world which has greatly increased its material resources but, at the same time, emphasized individualism and greed, there is "more mental and nervous diseases than ever existed before".^{1/} It is hardly to be wondered that many youth are unable to cope with their problems along lines acceptable to law-abiding adults.

Common sense would seem to indicate that cooperation is the most effective way of grappling with the problems of our modern Western civilization; that only by working together can we close the lag between the material progress and the social controls by which we seek to direct it. Instead, in an economy of scarcity we insist upon competition and self-aggrandizement. We have built up a pressure culture which glorifies the individual and his ability to attain success at the expense of others.

In other aspects of communal living, on the other hand, there is emphasis upon teamwork and mutuality of interests, particularly in the home. In a sense, youth has been unconsciously made aware that cooperation is highly to be desired in daily affairs. By bitter experience, however,

^{1/} Barnes, op. cit., p. 59.

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he learns that it is not practiced widely in the community. Thus life is formed at cross purposes. Competitiveness prevades the social relations, friendships, sexual relations, as well as occupational relations, "carrying the germs of destructive rivalry, disparagement, suspicion, begrudging envy into every human relationship".^{1/}

Youth are unprepared as a rule for the conflicting ideology with which modern Western culture presents them:

Competition	versus . .	Brotherly love
Personal success	versus . .	Humility
"Rights" of the individual	versus . .	The common welfare
Bigness, strength, and growth of power	versus . .	Refinement of tastes and help to others.
Maintenance of the <u>status</u> <u>quo</u>	versus . .	Necessity of change in the dynamics of progress
Stimulation of desires	versus . .	Inhibition of appetites

Self-confidence, as Horney suggests,^{2/} is bound to be profoundly influenced when youth has been taught that good people are well-intentioned and kindly disposed toward them, and that "it is a virtue to confide in others"; against which youth learn that the world is hostile and that their words will be twisted against them. The belief that it is immoral to be suspicious of others and to be on one's guard against any who may competitively undermine them or rob them of their security suffers a severe shock in actual experience.

^{1/} Horney, The Neurotic Personality of Our Time, p. 173.

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Self-esteem cannot be built on a sound foundation when it involves the concept of success in terms of monetary income and personal efficiency inasmuch as youth will be forced to acknowledge failure in terms of personal limitations. Under such conditions they are virtually forced to live with the constant prospect of failure, economic insecurity, and continual emotional frustration. The psychic difficulties developed by the cultural environment thereby become greater than the capacities of many youth to cope with them, at least in a socially acceptable way.

Evidence of neurotic youth.--- It has been estimated that at least ten per cent of college students are in need of psychiatric assistance.^{1/} Inasmuch as the psychiatric authorities who made this estimate from working with college students are not commonly employed in secondary schools, we have no reflection of youth at that level. However, the extent of juvenile delinquency, which is discussed below, affords grounds for believing neurosis is even more prevalent at the secondary level.

As soon as the students leave school they automatically become a competitor not only with their peer-groups but also with the adult world. Thus the competitive aspect of their lives, already involved with a rating-and-dating system, sexual prowess, physical and mental attainment, and freedom

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Hunt^{1/} found in a study of discharged employees in 76 corporations that 90 per cent were unable to hold their jobs not because of lack of skills but because of "necessary personality qualifications." In the matter of promotion, 77 per cent failed to get recognition because of "lack of acceptable personality or character traits."

Carlson^{2/} reported on a study of 10,000 men that "technical training is responsible for only 15 per cent in the success of an individual in the business world, while personal qualities are responsible for the remaining 85 per cent." This was substantiated by Brewer's^{3/} report on a study of 4,375 discharged employees of industrial organizations which was made by the Harvard Bureau of Vocational Guidance. He stated that "personality factors are the cause of failure in 66 per cent of the cases, while lack of skill or technical knowledge is the basic reason for the discharge of only 34 per cent."

Cavan^{4/} found suicide highest in anonymous concentrated populations: gang life and crime more prevalent, and juvenile delinquency the aping of the adult world in which they lived.

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2/ D. Carlson, How to Develop Personal Power, pp. 60-63. New York: Harper and Brothers, 1937.

3/ J.M. Brewer, "Religion and Vocational Success", Religious Education, pp. 1-3, January, 1930

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Faris^{1/} and Zorbaugh^{2/} also found the tendency toward fantasy living and illogical human behavior in which pets took precedence over human relations, and promiscuous and bizarre sex relations in common defiance of tradition. Hayner^{3/} found despondency and restlessness the common lot of people living in cities who, lacking integration into the social structure, fail to harmonize their personalities with the social pattern. McDougall^{4/} reached the conclusion that neurosis is a consequence of moral conflict and that neurasthenia is the American disease. And Lippmann^{5/} declares that the confusion of behavior norms and the lack of a universally accepted code of morals results in our living in a state of moral anarchy.

Asocial Behavior; Juvenile Delinquency

Neurotic youth and the tendency toward psychopathic personality are most noticeable in the trend of juvenile delinquency. The growing complexity of civilization, the increase in contacts and incitement toward self-gratification in urban life, together with the diminuation of social controls and institutional restraints of organized society, have resulted in making the incentives to juvenile delin-

1/ R. E. Faris, "Cultural Isolation and the Schizophrenic Personality", American Journal of Sociology, 40: 155-164, September, 1934.

2/ H. W. Zorbaugh, The Gold Coast and the Slum, Ch. 4. Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1929.

3/ N. S. Hayner, "Hotel Life and Personality", American Journal of Sociology, 33: 784-795, March, 1928.

4/ W. McDougall, "Crime in America", Forum, 77: 519-523, 1927.

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quency more potent. According to Barnes^{1/}, "the increase of delinquency among juveniles is the most striking and dangerous trend in the crime scene today."

The growth of crime as a concomitant of the development of our industrialized urban civilization.-- As Tannenbaum^{2/} points out, "crime is eternal -- as eternal as society". It is a social product, reaching its highest development during periods of social transition. Perhaps it may be regarded as one, at least, of the indices of social transition. The more complex the social, the more violent the transition and the more extensive the crimes. "Under these circumstances our problem becomes not the search for the impossible -- the abolition of crime -- but the quest for some possible means for its diminution and for the reshaping of the habit-patterns of individuals who become criminals."^{3/}

It would seem to be the cultural environment that is the predominant causal factor. The focal point is the institutional conflicts of society as a whole which must be ameliorated or harmonized. Meanwhile as Mayo^{4/} succinctly observes, "We cannot live and prosper with one foot in the twentieth century and the other in the eighteenth." If youth is to be effectively prepared for modern living, they must be prepared for an adaptive society rather than an established one.^{5/}

^{1/} Op. cit., p. 715. Juvenile Delinquency and Urban Areas.

^{2/} F. Tannenbaum, "Foreword", New Horizons in Criminology by H.E. Barnes and N.K. Teeters. New York: Prentice-Hall, Inc., 1943.

^{3/} Ibid, p. v. New York: Albert and Charles Boni, Inc., 1939.

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Modern urban society is in reality not a harmonious social order, but rather a composite of distinct societies among which the cultural distances are often greater than "east is from west".

The conclusions reached by Shaw and his associates^{1/} are that group delinquency which characterizes much of modern crime is deeply embedded in the conditions of modern urban life. The ideology, moreover, which prevails in certain urban areas apparently sanctions, even encourages, delinquency in the gestures, conduct, and speech of the adults with whom young people consort. The conflicting social values of urban life confuse youth and encourage excitement particularly in which they gain satisfying status among their own kind.

Barnes^{2/} rather convincingly extends the causes of crime and juvenile delinquency to the whole of modern Western civilization. He contends that they are the result of the evolutionary process of capitalism and, more recently, corporacy in the American scene. He traces the historical development from the land speculation of colonial days through the land scandals of railroad development; from the public lottery craze of the early nineteenth century through the "Gold Rush" of 1848 and the outlaw days of the West; up

^{1/} C.E. Shaw, et al. Juvenile Delinquency and Urban Areas, Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1942.

^{2/} Op. cit., pp. 685-587. See also Barnes and Teeters, New Horizons in Criminology, and J.T. Adams, Our Business Civilization. New York: Albert and Charles Boni, Inc., 1929.

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The "easy money" philosophy and youth's social values.--
^{2/} Barnes asserts that the extensive problem of modern crime is primarily rooted in the "something-for-nothing" psychology and ethics of urban society. Beginning with the prevalent financial capitalism and corporacy which developed since the turn of the century, it filters down through social strata to the realm of delinquency. Investment and banking interests have "gained control of the major forms of our economic life and direct and manage them primarily for the purpose of financial exploitation." Likewise, he argues, our banking systems which offer "the greatest opportunity for safe and profitable banking to be found anywhere in the world.....has been an international scandal".

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^{1/} Loc. cit.

^{2/} Ibid, pp. 681-685.

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capitalism and the more distinctive forms of organized crime and vice, involve the "vulgar forms of financial swindling", such as bogus bankruptcy, embezzlement, forgery, and bucket-shop operations. Below this level lie the "many and extensive rackets". Then follow major, minor crimes and delinquency. "It seems likely that the entire money culture of a profit motivated economic order makes a climate in which corruption can easily grow."^{1/}

The theory of the leisure class so ably exposed by Thorstein Veblen which is romanticized and supported by the Middle Class^{2/} has developed its counterpart in an "easy money" philosophy which has made honest work appear to many youth as servile. It has tended to swell the ranks of stagnant youth from whom criminally intent youth "gangs" are recruited.^{3/}

Youth in crime. -- Harrison and Grant^{4/} claim that youth between 16 and 21 commit crimes all out of proportion to their number in the total population, and a larger proportion of serious rather than minor offenses. According to an article in the Prison Journal^{5/} more boys between 17 and 20 are involved in major crimes than any other four-year group in the population. In New York City 58 per cent of persons

^{1/} J. Davis, op. cit., p. 435.

^{2/} See Ch. III.

^{3/} Barnes, op. cit., p. 690.

^{4/} L. V. Harrison, and P.M. Grant, Youth in the Toils, New York: The Macmillan Company, 1938.

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charged with robbery in 1939-1940 were under 25 years of age; and of the 886 robberies 330 were committed by youth between 16 and 20 years of age.^{1/}

Healy and Alper^{2/} assert that the development of youthful criminals between 16 and 17 years of age is indicated by the following data:

Table 7. Tabulation of Fingerprint Records Compared to Each 100,000 Male Youth in the General Population for the Years 1935, 1936, 1937.

Age	Ratio	Robbery	Burglary	Larceny	Auto Theft
16	1412	73	486	476	208
17	2120	139	649	719	300
18	2547	207	680	822	347
19	2681	249	636	835	319
20	2379	246	513	701	234
21	2406	249	417	692	212

This trend is even more noticeable in the following data:^{3/}

Table 8. Distribution by Ages of Felony Prisoners Received by State and Federal Prisons in the years 1941, 1942, and 1943.

Age	1941	1942	1943
Under 15	28	19	36
15-17	2560	2441	2397
18	2506	2324	2377
19	2989	2546	2567
20	2964	2558	2159
21-24	10,444	8963	7666
25-29	10,245	8273	6725
30-34	7,814	6335	5165

^{1/} Barnes and Teeters, op. cit., p. 112.

^{2/} W. Healy and B. S. Alper, Criminal Youth and the Borstal System, pp. 7-9. New York: The Commonwealth Fund, 1941.

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It is noticeable that the proportion of crimes drops off beyond the youth period probably due to the employment conditions in war industries. On the other hand, in light of the drafting in these ages for the armed services, the comparatively sustained proportion of criminals in the range from 18 to 20 years of age gives pause for thought.

In a study of prison population in 1930, more than half of the inmates had been under 21 years of age when they were first committed.^{1/} In a study of 1,000 juvenile delinquents who came through the Boston Juvenile Court and the Judge Baker Foundation:^{2/}

1. Four-fifths were American born of foreign-born parents;
2. Only one-half of the parents had had formal schooling into the grammar grades; many had had none;
3. Over four-fifths of the families had had social service assistance;
4. In seven-tenths of the households criminality was common;
5. Four-fifths were irregular workers who changed jobs frequently;
6. Over half had had their vocational training in the street trades;
7. Two-thirds had been employed, most before 14 years of age;
8. Over half were definitely neurotic.

^{1/} Barnes and Teeters, op. cit., p. 111.

^{2/} S. Glueck, and E. Glueck. Juvenile Delinquents Grown Up, pp. 4-14. New York: The Commonwealth Fund, 1940.

^{3/} W. C. Rickless, and M. Smith, Juvenile Delinquency, p. 11. New York: McGraw-Hill Book Co., Inc., 1932.

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Only the misfortunate in court.-- Juvenile delinquency is commonly regarded as a legal concept, and the statistics of delinquents are normally culled from the court calendar and prison records. It is to be expected that an extremely high percentage come from a rather sordid environment. This does not signify that delinquency in a broader sense does not occur among other social classes.

^{1/}Porterfield^{1/} comments rather bitterly that:

".....the court child is from a socially unimportant family.....he is friendless, or often 'wounded in the house of (those who ought to be) his friends'. Even the college child who behaves in much the same way, has friends at home, at school, at church, among club leaders, and on the playground; and his family has many friends. The same peevishness and irresponsibility is not displayed toward him as toward his less fortunate brother."

^{2/}Reckless and Smith^{2/} assert that among juvenile court cases there are many "who, from the standpoint of habits, are considerably better than children who have never been haled into court". Merely because youth have been legally labeled "delinquent" is no criterion that they are inferior to those not labeled. In fact Barnes^{3/}^{3/} bluntly asserts that "the criminal class as a whole is distinctly superior in native intelligence to the general population". The spoiled neurotic youth from materially superior homes are as much delinquent as those from inferior backgrounds, especially

^{1/} A. L. Porterfield, "Delinquency and Its Outcome in Court and College", American Journal of Sociology, 49:199-208, November, 1943.

^{2/} W. C. Reckless, and M. Smith, Juvenile Delinquency, p. 11. New York: McGraw-Hill Book Co., Inc., 1932.

^{3/} Op. cit., p. 712.

Only the unfortunate in court.-- Juvenile delinquency is commonly regarded as a legal concept, and the statistics of delinquents are normally culled from the court calendar and prison records. It is to be expected that an extremely high percentage come from a rather sordid environment. This does not signify that delinquency in a broader sense does not occur among other social classes.

Porterfield comments rather bitterly that:

".....the court child is from a socially unimportant family.....he is friendless, or often 'wounded in the house of (those who ought to be) his friends.' Even the college child who behaves in much the same way, has friends at home, at school, at church, among club leaders, and on the playground; and his family has many friends. The same peevishness and irresponsibility is not displayed toward him as toward his less fortunate brother."

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The persistence of the idea of naturally bad persons.--

One of the outstanding impediments to the sane handling of juvenile delinquents has been the persistence of the false assumption that bad behavior is the behavior of "naturally" bad people. On the other hand, "naturally" good people may be in temporary difficulty, but eventually they will come out all right. Behind this belief can be discerned the survival of medieval dualistic thinking somewhat colored by capitalistic interpretation, especially on the part of the Middle Class. Prejudiced by their belief that poor people are uncultured, lazy, and vicious, they take sanctimonious satisfaction in pointing to the fact that the greatest number of delinquents legally come from the lower classes of society. They quite disregard the causes of the poverty, unemployment, inadequate housing and sundry other evils of the unhealthy surroundings from which come the objects of their scorn.

The fact seems to be that the civilization which they have helped to create can make even a respectable and well-intentioned young man or young girl a criminal before either is even aware of it. It is difficult to realize that no one deliberately can do what he believes, for him, is wrong or evil. It may be obvious to an observer that it is wrong; it may even be committed by the person, himself, in the full

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knowledge that others will regard it as wrong; but for reasons peculiar to him, he does what he believes is fitting and proper at the moment.

As Thomas^{1/} explains the process, a situation which seems desirable to the group is accepted by them; group acceptance becomes the individual member's definition of conduct. But each youth comes into contact with many groups in the urban community and each make their demands on him. Consequently, as Reckless and Smith argue^{2/}, "where the definition is clearly the one that.....leaves the greatest satisfaction" for youth that will be the one most influential upon his behavior. Delinquency arises probably from the conflicting group patterns and from the lack of social status in himself which thrusts him upon groups. Thus as Thomas^{3/} argues: "From simple beginnings the activities usually become progressively more asocial as the individual seeking security..... attempts to gain recognition in accordance with their 'folkways'."

Most delinquents have been so warped by undesirable experiences that what the law-abiding population characterize as asocial behavior is as natural an expression for them as the law-abiding conduct is for the others. It is absurd, then, to make the punishment fit the crime. Instead tolerance

1/ W. I. Thomas, The Unadjusted Girl, pp. 42-44. Boston: Little, Brown and Co., 1923.

2/ Op. cit., p. 172.

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and understanding are necessary ingrediants for rehabilitation. Most certainly we can seriously question the validity of the supernaturalists who claim exhortation and incantation to be the only effective remedy.

The failure of the law.-- An able observer of contemporary civilization recently wrote: "Under social and economic pressures, legalisms go out the window. Courts can deal with misdemeanors of individuals. They have never been successful in restraining social groups.....reason never rules where profound emotions are involved."^{1/} Legal devises are inadequate alone to deal with delinquency.

As shown above, many inmates of prisons began their criminal careers in early youth, even childhood. Equally significant is the fact that "locked up in our reform schools, protectories, houses of refuge, detention homes, and jails are thousands of children from seven to sixteen and seventeen years old, actually serving sentences imposed by the courts of the land."^{2/} Most evidence tends to show these to be "schools of crime".

Healy and Alper^{3/} describe the inadequacy of present methods of treating delinquents as follows:

"In this country ever since 1876 the idea of reformatory treatment for younger criminals has been held in principle. But as a matter of fact, except in name the distinction between "reformatories"

^{1/} D. Thompson, The Boston Globe, December 20, 1946.

^{2/} Barnes and Teeters, op. cit., p. 897.

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Juvenile delinquency a symptom of social maladjustment.--

Delinquency represents only a portion of asocial behavior.

In addition to immorality and sexual misbehavior, there are, as Barnes^{1/} points out, types of asocial behavior which are not conventionally regarded as such. Some of them are "brutalities and intolerance in the family circle, family neglect, economic exploitation, human warfare, and the like."

Crime, moreover, is the outcome of many interrelated factors; factors which in the right combination for a particular individual or group create a crime situation. Burt^{2/} traced what he believed to be 170 distinct conditions, "everyone of them conclusive to childish misconduct". These cannot be restricted to slum conditions. Not only have great numbers of youth grown up in untidy and wretched urban areas to become useful citizens of good character, but it must be recognized that "these conditions themselves probably reflect a type of community life" in the treating of which

^{1/} Op. Cit., p. 676

^{2/} C. Burt, *The Young Delinquent*, p. 600. London: University of London Press, 1938.

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¹ Op. cit., p. 276
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"one treats only symptoms of more basic processes."^{1/} On the other hand, there is good reason to believe that it is more difficult for youth to keep a sane and balanced point of view living in poverty, ill housed and ill fed, in a crowded slum area, surrounded by groups whose normal patterns of behavior are asocial and even anti-social. It bespeaks the greatness of the human mind that as many as do surmount the vile atmosphere.

Intelligent parents and youth workers concerned with the Youth Problem cannot ignore the tremendous influence of the home upon the character formation of youth. As Director of the F.B.I., Hoover^{2/} is greatly concerned with the degree to which "neglect and improper training" is responsible for juvenile delinquency. Urban youth and increasingly rural youth need guidance and provision for a place in the world which is compatible with their needs and interests. The task is not easy but it is imperative.

^{1/} Shaw, et. al., op. cit., p. 205.

^{2/} J.E. Hoover, "How Good a Parent Are You?" This Week Magazine, supplement to the Boston Sunday Herald, April 20, 1947.

^{3/} L.F. Calkins, Public Education in the United States, Rev. ed., p. 3, Boston: Houghton, Mifflin Company, 1934.

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CHAPTER IX

YOUTH AND FORMAL EDUCATION

A concomitant of the evolution of industrialized society and culture in the United States has been the development of the public systems of education for American children, and more recently, its youth. It is in the secondary school, the public college, and the public university that we find any real semblance of status for youth. It is the purpose of this chapter, however, to show that the ideologies circumscribing the public systems of education, which, of necessity, direct the course of youth's development, have played their part in the development of the cultural lag whereby they are being denied adequate status commensurate with their needs.

Ideologies of the past inherent in modern educational institutions.-- Although the social purpose of education and, conjointly, its forms and methods have altered throughout the centuries, it is well to recognize that each new social order is inevitably influenced by the old society out of which it is created. Even though, as Cubberley^{1/} explains, the three main forces responsible for our educational beginnings "were the Renaissance, the Protestant Revolts, and the beginnings of scientific inquiry and world exploration

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and trade," the roots of present educational concepts lie deeply embedded in the beginnings of our civilization.

According to Barnes,^{1/} early primitive education "consisted chiefly in conserving the culture" of the group and in the transmission of "the customs and the traditions of the community to future generations." Since it was assumed that the social order was as perfect as could be, since it was the work of the gods, there was no thought of using education as a means of improving society and thereby advancing the human welfare. Instead, the "way to insure prosperity and security was to retain the existing social order unchanged." Among Greed children, for example, indoctrination of the folkways and mores "was still the major educational effort." The contributions of the Greeks "toward unfettering the minds of men.....was only at the rarified atmosphere of the intellectual level."

In the Middle Ages education "supported the universal 'authority' of the Church and stabilized feudal society."^{2/} Wide credence was given to "the concept of 'society' as being 'the permanency of fundamental truths' in the common relations of men....." Permanency was the cult, of which classical education was its temple. The Age of Enlightenment revived the idea of the intellectual Greeks that "education may promote human happiness and well-being by training the individual and by reconstructing society."

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The natural philosophers of the eighteenth century, notably Rousseau, championed "education as an instrument of social progress."^{1/} They advocated universal education that "should wipe out both individual inequalities and antiquated social obstacles to human happiness." Although modern educators have postulated these ideas as the basic purposes of public education, they have "recoiled before the actual implications of making education the leading means of promoting social improvement." Consequently, as Barnes states elsewhere,^{2/} "most educational progress consists in attempting to engraft upon a completely archaic and inadequate substructure a set of highly modern educational notions and a variety of novel subjects....." Moreover, these innovations are regarded with suspicion and antagonism by the "sound" educators of whom it might be said are on occasion more "sound" than "educators."

Use of the schools to maintain the "status quo".--
Manned by specially trained personnel, its materials systematically organized, and supported by public funds, "everywhere among modern people the school has gradually been developed as a means of actively imposing the institutions on the next generation."^{3/} In the main, the practical efforts of public education have been directed toward inculcating the accepted traditions of the controlling groups and toward

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buttressing the framework of organized society. Which, Barnes^{1/} caustically remarks, "is as ill adapted to modern thought and science and to modern needs as the oxcart or the clepsydra."^{2/}

Davis^{2/} presents a strong argument that capitalism and corpocracy have exerted a powerful influence upon education to the extent that today it "tends to refract the truth to the degree necessary to harmonize it with the dominant attitudes and practices of those in power in the economic and political world." The results have tended to produce, he claims:

- "(1) An ignorance as to the really serious maladjustment of wealth in the United States;
- (2) an acquiescence in the stratification within our American society;
- (3) an ignorance of and acquiescence in exploitation in the industrial and economic world.....;
- (4) the graduates of our educational institutions usually believe in the myth of equality, of opportunity unless they have been disillusioned by their own bitter experience;
- (5) their ideas have undergone a definite process of commercialization;
- (6) they have not been led to question the validity of the dominant mores or to think through for themselves what patterns of behavior are the most valid in any society."

The same group who manage the corporate structure of American economy also dominate the political structure^{3/} and

^{1/} "Education versus Enlightenment", loc. cit.

^{2/} J. Davis, Op. cit., pp. 369-70.

^{3/} R. T. Bye, and W. W. Hewett. Applied Economics, pp. 89-90. New York: F. S. Crofts and Co., 1938. (Third edition revised).

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influence educational policies. Their "interests" are directly protected by virtue of their functioning as members of the various school boards and as trustees of colleges and universities; otherwise the affluent members of the Middle Class who support their ideologies fulfill similar functions. Even more directly they have invaded the classroom with "factual information" and "educational aids" which are little short of propaganda. Corpocracy has "been able to dictate the content of textbooks, delete what they considered unfavorable statements or data, even have certain parts of courses or entire courses of study eliminated."^{1/}

The Superintendent of Schools of the City of New York^{2/} in 1933 blandly asserted that to uphold and perpetuate the status quo was the basic function of the schools in the following words: "The American state erects its schools as a bulwark of protection for its social, economic and political life." Furthermore, he conceived his duty as guardian of the public interests to be the removal of any teacher who presented "subversive doctrines"; but he neglected to state to whom they would be "subversive."

If the trend of education is truly liberal, then, as Landis^{3/} argues, "the examination of our institutions, the institutional patterns, and of our social controls should be in order." Certainly we should critically examine the validity of individ-

^{1/} Davis, op. cit., Ch. 18.

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 "we are apparently educating our boys and girls to regard
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Barnes^{2/} lists four bases for maintaining the status quo
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- (4) the persistence of the belief that human
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By utilizing the public education systems to sustain the
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^{1/} J. Davis, op. cit., pp. 240-241.

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"Education versus Enlightenment," pp. 648-649.

The public educational systems as educational "factories".--

Education by pressure of the very numbers involved has necessarily become an impersonal matter. Although any extensive system of education is bound to create at least some degree of regimentation, it is to be regretted that the fundamental personal relationship between teacher and pupil has greatly diminished, and that the goal of education has seemed to become the machinery of education itself. "The schools in today's power age are in the factory stage of production."^{1/}

The result has been an attempt to dispense a maximum of instruction with a minimum of effort and expense. We are attempting to create the leaders of tomorrow's America literally en masse. The educational systems have tended to become sublimated and dignified institutions of child-care and supervision, freeing parents from their responsibilities.

Persistence of the child-teacher authoritarian relationship at the secondary level.-- The school seems less capable of flexibility in adjusting to the growth and development of youth than most families. "The same educative procedure which it employs for the child of five or six is continued in its handling of the adolescent student."^{2/} The authoritative teacher-child relationship, methods of teaching and group management, and the maintenance of uniform behavior persist through all levels of the system. The fact that a person has been set in

^{1/} Melvin, op. cit., p. 104.

^{2/} Bloss, op. cit., p. 244.

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Education by pressure of the very numbers involved has necessarily become an impersonal matter. Although any extensive system of education is bound to create at least some degree of regimentation, it is to be regretted that the fundamental personal relationship between teacher and pupil has greatly diminished, and that the goal of education has seemed to become the machinery of education itself. "The schools in today's power age are in the factory stage of production." The result has been an attempt to dispense a maximum of instruction with a minimum of effort and expense. We are attempting to create the leaders of tomorrow's America literally en masse. The educational systems have tended to become sublimated and dignified institutions of child-care and supervision, freeing parents from their responsibilities.

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-- The school seems less capable of flexibility in adjusting to the growth and development of youth than most families. "The same educative procedure which it employs for the child of five or six is continued in its handling of the adolescent student." The authoritative teacher-child relationship, methods of teaching and group management, and the maintenance of uniform behavior persist through all levels of the system. The fact that a person has been set in

1. Melvin, op. cit., p. 104.
2. Bion, op. cit., p. 244.

control of others has usually been taken to imply that he is expected to give orders and have them obeyed. So the teacher, like the factory foreman, has frequently come to mean one who orders people about. The fundamental biological and psychological changes in maturing youth are not only overlooked, but also youth are held in what constitutes a prolonged childhood which only hampers the growth of their maturity.

Businessmen complain of the lack of maturity in young people coming out of our educational "factories", despairing of their ability to "fit in" with the rest of the organization. Gruenberg^{1/} reported that the army found so-called "progressive" methods of education best for training good soldiers in which the recruit was treated "as a self-respecting person who is genuinely concerned about what he is doing and about the outcome." Rogers^{2/} comments on childish youth in college who, spatially removed from home, are incapable of making even the most ordinary of daily decisions, having always relied on parents or authoritarian school systems for guidance and direction.

There is little justification for defending these practices on the grounds that the rank and file of youth do not wish and are not able to assume intelligent self-direction; whereas they have been raised under systems of education that place emphasis on childish acceptance of adult direction. Under such systems, it is only natural that youth are inade-

^{1/} S. M. Gruenberg, and B. C. Gruenberg. "Crosscurrents in the Rearing of Youth," The Annals, 236:67-73. November, 1944.

^{2/} Op. cit., p. 73.

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School as a substitute for useful functions in society.--

A greater proportion of youth remain longer in school today because there is nothing else for them to do. Denied the opportunity to work and frustrated in their normal aspiration for economic and marital adulthood, they flock back to school more or less under pressure. Often it is merely to keep peace at home. There may be a vague acceptance of the parental pronouncement that schooling will help them earn more money in the future. But the conviction that education frees the mind and "grows wings on the soul" is lacking.

Youth can no more be forced to go to school and learn than adults can be forced to work. We are allowing the wish to father the thought when we read the attainment of educational objectives into school statistics. It is our materialistic culture that deludes us into conclusions about scholastic achievement in terms of modern school buildings and the best of equipment. Because of adverse economic and social conditions youth are virtually being forced to stay in the classroom; but we cannot assume that they are learning, particu-

1/ Ibid, p. 253.

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Reuter^{1/} feels that not only has the public educational system been "vaguely and sentimentally expanded as a substitute for a usefully functioning position in society," but also that it is not well oriented toward youth's problems nor that it has "in the remotest sense any semblance to the adult world" for which youth is supposedly being prepared. He concludes that:

"The mushroom growth and present inchoate character of the American educational system seem best understood as an incompleated folk adjustment to the condition created by a social and industrial development that left youth no useful place or function in the culture."

Inadequate preparation for modern social living.-- For most young people the schools are tending more and more to provide an alternative to employment or to unemployment, but it is possible that the alternative is a dubious advantage. For instance, Gulick^{2/} comments on the state of education in New York as follows:

"The result is inescapable, the school system of the State of New York is now turning out a great number of youth each year, with and without diplomas, who are not adequately educated, who are not prepared to play a helpful part in the life of this State. Many are not ready to become citizens and take a useful part in community and family life. Many are not ready to go to work and later to adapt themselves to shifting economic conditions. Many who should go on

^{1/} Op. cit., pp. 415-416.

^{2/} L. M. Gulick, et al. Education for American Life: A New Program for the State of New York. The Regents' Inquiry, p. 4. New York: The McGraw-Hill Book Co., 1938.

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In general, when the prevailing form of education consists of conditioning youth to develop approved habits it makes for a mechanical, automatic and often irrational behavior. Such automatic responses tend to reflect racial and national prejudice, in sex taboos, in blind following of the status quo in economic, political, and religious intolerance. Assuredly it is not likely to develop the essential social skills requisite for an adaptive society. Over a decade ago, Charters^{4/} made it reasonably clear that success in occupational life is attained "upon factors quite different from those stressed in school."

^{1/} W. F. Dearborn, and J. W. Rothney, Scholastic, Economic and Social Backgrounds of Unemployed Youth, Harvard Bulletins in Education, No. 20. Cambridge, Mass: Harvard University Press, 1938.

^{2/} Ibid, pp. 102-106.

^{3/} Ibid, p. 100

^{4/} W.W. Charters, "Success, Personality, and Intelligence," Journal of Educational Research, Vol. 11, No. 3, pp. 169, 176, 1925.

Journal of Educational Research, Vol. 11, No. 3, pp. 189, 190, 191, 192, 193, 194, 195, 196, 197, 198, 199, 200, 201, 202, 203, 204, 205, 206, 207, 208, 209, 210, 211, 212, 213, 214, 215, 216, 217, 218, 219, 220, 221, 222, 223, 224, 225, 226, 227, 228, 229, 230, 231, 232, 233, 234, 235, 236, 237, 238, 239, 240, 241, 242, 243, 244, 245, 246, 247, 248, 249, 250, 251, 252, 253, 254, 255, 256, 257, 258, 259, 260, 261, 262, 263, 264, 265, 266, 267, 268, 269, 270, 271, 272, 273, 274, 275, 276, 277, 278, 279, 280, 281, 282, 283, 284, 285, 286, 287, 288, 289, 290, 291, 292, 293, 294, 295, 296, 297, 298, 299, 300, 301, 302, 303, 304, 305, 306, 307, 308, 309, 310, 311, 312, 313, 314, 315, 316, 317, 318, 319, 320, 321, 322, 323, 324, 325, 326, 327, 328, 329, 330, 331, 332, 333, 334, 335, 336, 337, 338, 339, 340, 341, 342, 343, 344, 345, 346, 347, 348, 349, 350, 351, 352, 353, 354, 355, 356, 357, 358, 359, 360, 361, 362, 363, 364, 365, 366, 367, 368, 369, 370, 371, 372, 373, 374, 375, 376, 377, 378, 379, 380, 381, 382, 383, 384, 385, 386, 387, 388, 389, 390, 391, 392, 393, 394, 395, 396, 397, 398, 399, 400, 401, 402, 403, 404, 405, 406, 407, 408, 409, 410, 411, 412, 413, 414, 415, 416, 417, 418, 419, 420, 421, 422, 423, 424, 425, 426, 427, 428, 429, 430, 431, 432, 433, 434, 435, 436, 437, 438, 439, 440, 441, 442, 443, 444, 445, 446, 447, 448, 449, 450, 451, 452, 453, 454, 455, 456, 457, 458, 459, 460, 461, 462, 463, 464, 465, 466, 467, 468, 469, 470, 471, 472, 473, 474, 475, 476, 477, 478, 479, 480, 481, 482, 483, 484, 485, 486, 487, 488, 489, 490, 491, 492, 493, 494, 495, 496, 497, 498, 499, 500, 501, 502, 503, 504, 505, 506, 507, 508, 509, 510, 511, 512, 513, 514, 515, 516, 517, 518, 519, 520, 521, 522, 523, 524, 525, 526, 527, 528, 529, 530, 531, 532, 533, 534, 535, 536, 537, 538, 539, 540, 541, 542, 543, 544, 545, 546, 547, 548, 549, 550, 551, 552, 553, 554, 555, 556, 557, 558, 559, 560, 561, 562, 563, 564, 565, 566, 567, 568, 569, 570, 571, 572, 573, 574, 575, 576, 577, 578, 579, 580, 581, 582, 583, 584, 585, 586, 587, 588, 589, 590, 591, 592, 593, 594, 595, 596, 597, 598, 599, 600, 601, 602, 603, 604, 605, 606, 607, 608, 609, 610, 611, 612, 613, 614, 615, 616, 617, 618, 619, 620, 621, 622, 623, 624, 625, 626, 627, 628, 629, 630, 631, 632, 633, 634, 635, 636, 637, 638, 639, 640, 641, 642, 643, 644, 645, 646, 647, 648, 649, 650, 651, 652, 653, 654, 655, 656, 657, 658, 659, 660, 661, 662, 663, 664, 665, 666, 667, 668, 669, 670, 671, 672, 673, 674, 675, 676, 677, 678, 679, 680, 681, 682, 683, 684, 685, 686, 687, 688, 689, 690, 691, 692, 693, 694, 695, 696, 697, 698, 699, 700, 701, 702, 703, 704, 705, 706, 707, 708, 709, 710, 711, 712, 713, 714, 715, 716, 717, 718, 719, 720, 721, 722, 723, 724, 725, 726, 727, 728, 729, 730, 731, 732, 733, 734, 735, 736, 737, 738, 739, 740, 741, 742, 743, 744, 745, 746, 747, 748, 749, 750, 751, 752, 753, 754, 755, 756, 757, 758, 759, 760, 761, 762, 763, 764, 765, 766, 767, 768, 769, 770, 771, 772, 773, 774, 775, 776, 777, 778, 779, 780, 781, 782, 783, 784, 785, 786, 787, 788, 789, 790, 791, 792, 793, 794, 795, 796, 797, 798, 799, 800, 801, 802, 803, 804, 805, 806, 807, 808, 809, 810, 811, 812, 813, 814, 815, 816, 817, 818, 819, 820, 821, 822, 823, 824, 825, 826, 827, 828, 829, 830, 831, 832, 833, 834, 835, 836, 837, 838, 839, 840, 841, 842, 843, 844, 845, 846, 847, 848, 849, 850, 851, 852, 853, 854, 855, 856, 857, 858, 859, 860, 861, 862, 863, 864, 865, 866, 867, 868, 869, 870, 871, 872, 873, 874, 875, 876, 877, 878, 879, 880, 881, 882, 883, 884, 885, 886, 887, 888, 889, 890, 891, 892, 893, 894, 895, 896, 897, 898, 899, 900, 901, 902, 903, 904, 905, 906, 907, 908, 909, 910, 911, 912, 913, 914, 915, 916, 917, 918, 919, 920, 921, 922, 923, 924, 925, 926, 927, 928, 929, 930, 931, 932, 933, 934, 935, 936, 937, 938, 939, 940, 941, 942, 943, 944, 945, 946, 947, 948, 949, 950, 951, 952, 953, 954, 955, 956, 957, 958, 959, 960, 961, 962, 963, 964, 965, 966, 967, 968, 969, 970, 971, 972, 973, 974, 975, 976, 977, 978, 979, 980, 981, 982, 983, 984, 985, 986, 987, 988, 989, 990, 991, 992, 993, 994, 995, 996, 997, 998, 999, 1000.

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More recently, as a result of the industrial relations in the Hawthorne Works of the Western Electric Company, Mayo^{1/} reasserted the point as follows:

"Indeed, scholarship departments, by reason of their over-evaluation of actual skills, do much to exaggerate the individual disability and little, if anything, to remedy it.....A far more common instance in universities and elsewhere is that of the person whose manipulative skills are superficially developed but whose social skills are practically nonexistent."

The more complex the social order, as in the modern industrialized urban populations, the greater are the confusions and conflicts among the institutional patterns, and the more is the need for developing social skills and adaptive behavior if the members of the various interrelated groups are to communicate effectively, and if cooperative activities for the common welfare are to be realized. Nowhere is this more imperative than for the youth; but the public educational system has not been adequately developed to meet their needs. There is ample evidence, moreover, that the schools contribute to juvenile delinquency.^{2/} Bright as well as dull pupils are being frustrated and becoming disgruntled. Even honor pupils have turned delinquent and even have committed violent major crimes.

It would seem that the higher we go in our educational system, the greater the conflict and chaos develops and the

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more inadequate are the schools in meeting the situation. Indoctrination of moral codes based on principles of universal honesty, loyalty to ideals, cooperation, and service do not adequately prepare youth for the realities of a world in which business, politics, the press, and the home confront youth with concrete examples of worldly success built on hypocrisy, dishonesty, opportunism, exploitation, prejudice, and cruelty. What is needed by youth is something more real and substantial than dogma and codes.

Finally, it must be recognized that the "G. I. Bill of Rights"^{1/} recently has made it possible for many youth to attempt a college education who heretofore did not feel able to do so because of the socio-economic circumstances of the family. In recent decades, moreover, many colleges and foundations have materially aided less fortunate youth, but their higher education has been obtained, in many instances, at personal and family sacrifice.

It is at the secondary level, however, that the need is more evident. Today "one young person in six fails to reach high school and half of those who enter drop out."^{2/} The modern public high school is no longer a preparatory school. Nor do millions of young people regard its offerings with joy and enthusiasm; but rather as an imposition and a bore to be evaded, even avoided, with eagerness and ingenuity. Most

^{1/} Public Law (U.S.) 346.

^{2/} A.O. Michener, "Can Job and School Mix?" Parents Magazine, 21: 24-25, November, 1946.

youth leave school because it fails to make any real contribution to their struggle for maturity; their need for status is generally ignored in the school environment.

The need for adjustment to education.-- The Youth Problem is as real a phenomenon of our modern Western civilization as is the Farm Problem or the Labor Problem. The conditions of social disintegration caused by rapid growth of individualism and belief in individualism as an integral factor of progress have not been met by our educational system. Youth are not being prepared to cope with the new social order. The preparation of urban youth is no better, and in some respects, particularly in "delinquency areas", their preparation is less adequate.

Because jobs at the entry level require less training whereas schools, particularly in urban areas, persist in prolonging the training of youth upon higher levels for jobs that do not exist in sufficient numbers to absorb them; because the employment opportunities generally are "dried up" for youth due to technological advancement and declining demands for unskilled labor; because the emphasis of schools has not been upon development of social skills but rather upon technical skills; because of the changing status of family life which normally supplied these social skills in an established society which

H. F. Palmer, "What is the American Youth Problem?" The Social, 194:18-24, November, 1937.

CHAPTER X

EDUCATION FOR ADAPTIVE BEHAVIOR IN AN INDUSTRIAL SOCIETY

The need for adjustments of secondary education.-- The Youth Problem is as real a phenomena of our modern Western civilization as is the Farm Problem or the Labor Problem. The conditions of social disintegration caused by the rapid growth of industrialized urban populations have failed to enfranchise youth between 16 and 25 years of age as an integral factor of modern society. Rural youth are drawn into the maelstrom of urban centers inadequately prepared to cope with the nebulous institutional patterns and conflicting mores that abound there. The preparation of urban youth is no better, and in some respects, particularly in "delinquency areas", their preparation is less adequate.

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has been rapidly disintegrating; for these and many related causes, the modern secondary educational system should undergo far-reaching and fundamental adjustments.

The first and probably most important change in educational philosophy should be to make real and operative the much avowed but seldom observed assertion that schools operate for the wholesome development of the integrated personalities of youth. Instead, most school systems still operate to perpetuate the existing order and support the interests of the controlling group by seeking to indoctrinate youth with the institutional patterns of the past.

Thus youth approach adulthood in a social and economic environment which has no place for them. Neither are they provided adequate opportunities for developing ability to face reality, to attune themselves to modern needs of urban life, and to secure the essential social skills whereby they can successfully communicate with various groups and effectively cooperate in common activities for attaining the general welfare.

Social skills in an adaptive society.^{1/}-- The studies which Mayo, Whitehead, Roethlisberger, and others in the Department of Industrial Research in the Harvard Business School have been conducting for over twenty years, particularly those in

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collaboration with the Western Electric Company^{1/}, have brought them to the conclusion that modern Western civilization is no longer an established society. That is, modern urban living no longer is built around commonly held institutions, folkways, customs, and mores. Nor is there a common heritage of an institutional pattern such as effectively controlled social behavior, determined social values, and defined status as in the past. In place of an established society there exists an adaptive society. But the habits of perpetuating the established social order are so thoroughly ingrained in the thinking of most people that they persist in raising their young "in the pattern". Most people think of the "logic" of security in terms of stability, and of stability in terms of maintaining the status quo.

The vast differences which exist among the various cultures brought together by the development of industrialization and its concentrations of urban population, and the resulting conflicts of institutions and mores, has destroyed this "logic"; but habits persist. Consequently it has become increasingly difficult for members of one group to communicate and collaborate with members of other groups through the established routines of relationship. As a result, the economic and social pressures which have broken up the larger group

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IV See particularly T. N. Whitehead, The Industrial Worker. Cambridge: Harvard University Press, 1938; and F. J. Rothlisberger and W. L. Dickson, Management and the Worker. Cambridge: Harvard University Press, 1939.

concepts of the rural neighborhood and community have tended to destroy individual significance for the majority of urban peoples. Yet collaboration is as essential to an adaptive society as it was to an established society. By reason of the constant state of flux, moreover, collaboration is even more desirable, nor can it be left to chance or the assumption of the operation of so-called "fundamental forces".

The individual moving from one group to another is not equipped to comprehend immediately the nature of social relations and the significance of social behavior peculiar to the new group. Until he does, he is unable to communicate with them. Thus, at first, he will not enjoy the security of belonging and being one with them. Unless he is equipped to understand his situation as "normal" and is prepared to make the necessary adjustments in his own thinking and consequent behavior, particularly when it is essential that he collaborate for the securing of his welfare as in employment, he will be forced back upon himself, in frustration, and his unhappiness increases. Prey to his own over-thinking of his unhappy situation, he tends to build up obsessions which can become the basis for neurotic and asocial behavior insofar as the new group is concerned. Eventually it will lead to rejection, even chastisement.

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methods. Whereas routine training sufficed for education in an established society, it cannot fulfill the need for personal adaptability which requires experience under guidance. Fundamentally, the only knowledge is that which comes from experience. Education merely assumes to give meaning to, and provides ways of thinking about the apparent results of, experiences. Without experiences education is as dry as dust and as devoid of meaning as a vacuum.

Guided as we are by the ideologies of capitalism and corpocracy, we emphasize the training of young people in technical understanding and technical skill. At the same time we do little or nothing to develop social insight or to import social skills. In many respects present day education, in its support of capitalism and corpocracy, operates to hinder the development of such skills. The result is to create the impression that youth are an unorganized rabble upon which order must be imposed.

The so-called social sciences are endlessly concerned with alleged social problems and encourage youth to talk endlessly about them. But in no wise are they being equipped with any social skill that is applicable to ordinary human situations. We are training youth to live in an established society rather than in an adaptive society. Whereas we should develop means for the direct demonstrations, as we do in the physical sciences, of usable skills for actual social situations.

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of others in such fashion as to promote congenial participation in a common task".^{1/} Whereas an organized society provided in the normal events of daily living and associations a continuity that allowed for the slow absorption of communicative skills, modern industrialized society has resulted in a "deterioration in the sense of social obligation, a decay alike of the group life and of capacity for active collaboration in a common venture."^{2/} The need is great for development of a high human adaptability, failure of which so far has brought the social chaos which characterizes modern urban civilization and which has measurably contributed to the Youth Problem.

Nowhere is this more evident than in the educational system of America. Although many educational leaders are struggling to improve the situation, they are hampered by two mental barriers. One is the inability of the general public to comprehend what has occurred in the way of social change calling for a radical departure of familiar educational methods and functions. The other is the commitment of many school authorities to the concept of an established society and, thereby, to the need for teaching the "good old fundamentals" and for maintaining "sound education".

It is not, the writer believes, that we lack the capacity to comprehend and deal intelligently with the problem, but that we are so structured institutionally that our approach to it is

^{1/} E. Mayo. Social Problems of an Industrial Civilization.
p. 13.

^{2/} Ibid, p. 14.

prejudiced and our comprehension is influenced by preconceived notions and persistent habits of thinking which prevent our seeing the reality of the situation. "We lack," commented philosopher Max Otto a decade ago, "a mind to match the times."

^{1/}
Frank goes further in his analysis to conclude:

"The dilemma of education arises from belief in man as a rational being in whom emotion can be controlled by reason and intelligence. Educational programs shrink from any frank acceptance of the underlying personality make-up and emotional reactions of students as entering into the educational situation because to do so would bring a widespread collapse of the whole educational philosophy and undermining of approved pedagogy."

^{2/}
"Does not most traditional teaching," asks Cantor, "occur in a wilderness of waste logic and does not most 'learning' consist of verbal ping-pong?" Knowledge, albeit necessary, is of itself sterile, particularly when students sense the wide gap between life and language. Without meaning, in terms of experience, it has little influence upon behavior; for the power of knowledge is realized in its application. Thus knowledge to be effective must be related to the experience or apperception of self, and has meaning to the extent self recognizes the applications and implications in terms of self.

To permit students to acquire understanding in terms of self, however, necessitates an effective margin of self-

^{1/} L. K. Frank. "Dilemma of Leadership." Psychiatry, 2:247, August 1939.

^{2/} N. Cantor. Dynamics of Learning, p. ix. Buffalo, N.Y.: Foster and Stewart Publishing Corp., 1946.

determination. It also means permitting students to achieve knowledge of social collaboration in their own way. To do so, would of necessity mean that educators would have to permit students to differ with them instead of seeking to channelize their positive creative forces "into the encrusted bed of tradition."^{1/} It means allowing youth to rationalize their problems and thereby acquire the social skills of acceptable behavior. This implies the innate capacity possessed by most people and, in this instance, by youth to gain insight into their problems and reach constructive solutions.

The emotional content of problems.-- As the writer has previously argued (Chapter II), the process of an established society is to institutionalize behavior within a framework set by custom, follways, and tradition whereby the individual is brought to secure his welfare within the group by perpetuating the institutional pattern of the group.

Thus it is that the institutionalized societal structure of the group becomes, of itself, the criteria of safety and group perpetuation for which the individual must sacrifice some of his personal, spontaneous, impulsive behavior for the depersonalized, external form of conduct control of the institutional pattern. The child is institutionalized as to what is proper, acceptable, and "right" behavior (including of necessity, the negative aspects as to what is "wrong" or unacceptable behavior). The child's mind, thereby, is being overtly condi-

^{1/} Ibid, p. 69

tioned in accordance with the ideals and concepts of the adult environment. The child is led to identify security with it and to assimilate its standards by which he measures his worth.^{1/}

The development of modern Western civilization (Chapter III) not only has brought about a cultural lag of the ideological content behind the material concepts, but also, because of the extension of the philosophy of individualism and its pragmatic and materialistic concomitants, has tended to center moral responsibility in the individual and the "rule of conscience." The result, in no small measure abetted by cultural conflicts resulting from the urbanization of the United States (Chapter IV), has been, in the opinion of the writer, largely responsible for "the chaos now found in human association."^{2/}^{3/}

Consequently, youth as they move beyond the orbit of the home into a wider community which seems no longer to possess the common elements of an established society, requiring instead the social skills for effective communication and collaboration of an adaptive society, feel uneasy and lost. They are uncertain as to their relations with others, as to the processes of social change, and as to the forces which are so precipitously altering their lives. "They find it difficult to consolidate their accustomed emotional responses with the new

^{1/} N. Cantor. Employee Counseling, pp. 55-56. New York: McGraw-Hill Book Company, Inc., 1945.

^{2/} F. S. C. Northrop. The Meeting of East and West, Ch. 3. New York: The Macmillan Company, 1946.

^{3/} J. Dewey (see page 36).

feelings called forth by the new and strange concepts"^{1/} of the various groups from whom they seek acceptance. "Their conception of self, their sense of importance, of self-esteem, of counting for something, which constitutes the core of a balanced personality, is obscured and distorted."^{2/} Roethlisberger^{3/} observes, "It is not entirely fortuitous that most neurotic ailments appear in connection with the breakdown of customary ways of doing things."

Having been led as children to identify their security with the ideologies and concepts of their parents, to assimilate their standards and thereby measure their worth, youth have grown up idealizing and identifying their ideologies with the "acceptable" members of their environment. Their selfhoods, awakened by freedom from parental restraints and the anonymity of urban life, lead them to assert self in ways contrary to parental "acceptable" dictum. Where, as Cantor^{4/} points out, they recognize that they are not living in accordance with the standards which have been set for them, "the disappointment results in self-criticism and feelings of inferiority and guilt." It is the inward projection which "cannot but increase the load of guilt" carried by youth.

However, the desire for "continuous and intimate associa-

^{1/} N. Cantor. Dynamics of Learning, p. 20. Buffalo, New York: Foster & Stewart Publishing Corp., 1946.

^{2/} Ibid

^{3/} F. J. Roethlisberger. Management and Morale, p. 49. Cambridge, Massachusetts: Harvard University Press, 1941.

^{4/} Dynamics of Learning, loc. cit.

tion" with others who appear to answer the needs of self,
 according to Mayo,^{1/} "remains a strong, possibly the strongest,
 human capacity." Untrained in social skills whereby they can
 effectively relate themselves to others, particularly when con-
 fronted with institutional conflict, youth tend to overthink
 their problems, to press for "some immediate and miraculous
 solution, and to collapse into depression" when their efforts
 fail.^{2/} Or, they may go to the other extreme, Cantor^{3/} argues,
 assert the demands of self, become hostile, and fight against
 those who deny self-expression.

Under these conditions it is little wonder that youth are
 unable to rationalize their situation and perceive their needs
 clearly. Their minds are confused with over-thinking and ob-
 sessions. Governed as they are by sentiment and feeling, they
 are unable to perceive that normal association with others re-
 quires modification of the sense of self. They are unable to
 see the need for reorganizing their ways of responding. They
 are unable to turn self-criticism into self-improvement and
 self-discipline, or to learn how to be tolerant without toler-
 ating. What is of greatest importance, they fail to realize
 that the acceptance or rejection of one's self is a lifelong

^{1/} E. Mayo. "Foreword". Management and Morale, p. xxi.

^{2/} It is not the interest of the writer to convey the idea that
 this is peculiar to youth. He recognizes that it is possible
 at all ages. It is his belief, however, that it underlies many
 facets of the Youth Problem and, if the Youth Problem is to be
 solved, must be recognized and accounted for in any attempts
 at a solution (or solutions).

^{3/} Employee Counseling, pp. 57-59.

process; that "the struggle is continuous and the balance attained only temporary."^{1/} This institutionalized personality, governed as it is by sentiment and feeling, cannot do without stress which, in increasing instances among youth the writer believes, is often more than it can cope with. The result is maladjustment and self-deception as the institutionalized personality "rationalizes" the necessity of his behavior.

Thus youth are led to engage in behavior that, unknown to them, compensates for their feelings of inadequacy and shields them from their faults. Eventually they can become so accustomed to their "rationalizations" that they have lost any ability for self-criticism and self-discipline. "The same relative detachment and inward retirement....which are so favorable to perception of the whole situation in the learning process of infants," Curran^{2/} believes, "is necessary for the maladjusted person to solve his problems." Being driven by himself or by others, he feels, makes the process more difficult.

In order for youth to rationalize their behavior and see events in their context,^{3/} it is essential that they learn how to detach themselves and see the situation in a new relationship. To do so, however, they must be relieved of the pressure, whether within themselves or from without by others, to seek easy and simple solutions to complex problems. They must be

^{1/} N. Cantor. Employee Counseling, p. 57.

^{2/} C. A. Curran. Personality Factors in Counseling, p. 211. New York: Greene & Stratton, 1945.

^{3/} See page 97, above.

allowed to rationalize in an inward detachment if they are to effectively survey the situation and perceive new and desirable relationships. Only as they are free and secure to face the situation can they gain and develop insight into the various aspects involved and thereby make more satisfactory choices.

In the classrooms, this means the necessity of recognizing that the opinions and ideas which the pupils bring with them are of less importance than the sentiments and feelings which accompany them. It means that instead of operating to perpetuate the existing order by moral indoctrination and institutionalization, the school systems at the high school level, at least, should strive for the self-education of pupils.

Self-education as the criteria of social studies.-- As pointed out above, training in technical understanding and technical skill has become emphasized in American schools to the detriment of the development of insight and social skills. Even in the so-called social sciences the tendency, in the writer's experience, has been toward a pseudo-scientific and technical treatment of the content. Consequently, social studies have become endlessly concerned with alleged social problems and youth have been encouraged to talk endlessly about them.

The attitude of the writer is that social studies to be effective in modifying behavior and motivating a rational approach to youth's problems must entail opportunity for youth to educate themselves. The saying, "A man convinced against his

will is of the same opinion still," would seem to express the basic concept involved in effective education for social skills required by an adaptive society. Pupils should be "free to accept the traditional if it seems useful, and to create new values when they appear desirable."^{1/} Until youth have struggled with their problems, they are not ready to comprehend them or to appreciate their resolution. Moreover, provision should be made for release of negative emotions which have been built in self-conflict in order that insight can be obtained. This will be discussed in more detail below.

For the teacher, self-education of the pupils requires an appreciation of their capacity to gain insight provided they are free from emotional conflict, and an understanding of the need of each pupil for acceptance of self which is possible only as the teacher in the classroom situation accepts the pupil as an individual with inherent rights to differ from the teacher and other pupils. Each pupil must be assured of the sincere acceptance of what he thinks and feels before he can genuinely respect what others think and feel. When conflicts of opinion are respected, they can be accepted and, thereby, allow freedom to express these differences.

It is also implied, for the teacher, that there should be recognition of the fact that each pupil brings his entire personality into the classroom. He is not only a pupil but also a member of a family, a dreamer of dreams, a lover, a member

^{1/} N. Cantor. Dynamics of Learning, p. 76.

of a gang whose demands upon him may conflict with the demands of others, a prospective possessor of personal property beyond his means of attainment of the moment, etc. He cannot check his hopes, fears, anxieties, and worries at the door, but brings them to his seat. There, in addition to the problems he has brought with him, he is in a problem situation involving matters of recitation, responsibility for fulfillment of assignments, attainment of grades, self-recognition, etc.

There is a question of being recognized as a worthy person, of obtaining security in his work, need for being accepted and of belonging, a chance to express himself in his own peculiar way. How well these needs are satisfied determines how he feels about himself. Very seldom, probably most certainly for youth, does he understand why he feels the way he does. He only knows that his self-esteem is raised or lowered as a result of what happens. Principally he cannot rationalize his feelings because they involve emotions he does not recognize are there.

The whole process of education occurs in a matrix of emotional experience. When the content of that experience is confused, its elements apparently conflicting, the person may be confronted with a greater problem of obtaining equilibrium than he can cope with. It is unlikely that he can behave in a rational manner. "An animal is rational," according to Northrop,^{1/}
1/ op. cit., p. 274.

"if it has the ability....to grasp the sensed particular in its logical character." When that person, however, is unable to regard his problem in terms of the "sensed data," whose feelings and frustrations influence the interpretation, and whose institutionalized behavior prejudices the "logic" of his conclusions, the result is more likely than not to be irrational.

In order that self-education should not dissolve into aimless wandering, or into a glorified, chaotic "bull session" in which there would be neither form nor direction, there must be definite limits set up within which the educative processes operate. Within these limits, however, the teacher must assure the pupils of their freedom to discover and pursue their interests. Each pupil should be free socially and psychologically to discover what it is that he wants and needs, and how he is to go about getting it.

The teacher, Cantor^{1/} asserts, must "make it clear what he has to offer the students, and what he will require of them." At the same time, the teacher must make it clear that the students, and not he, bear the responsibility for their achievements in the process; that the students must participate in their own development. The primary function of the teacher is to help the students help themselves. It is not to make the students conform or to accept by compulsion whether by praise or blame, approval or disapproval, or reward or punishment.

2/ Dynamics of Learning, p. 93.

Instead, the function of the teacher is, accepting the sentiments and feelings of the pupils as theirs, to help them achieve self-responsibility and effect its discharge in the learning process so that they can "participate meaningfully, not verbally,"^{1/} in the process.

Confusion of sentiment and feeling with fact.-- Self-education in the classroom requires human collaboration for the achievement of common purposes for which the work had been designed; namely, the attainment of effective social skills. It is the belief of Roethlisberger^{2/} that in the securing of collaboration, "sentiments and the interaction of sentiments are important phenomena," and therefore effective direction of such efforts "presupposes an understanding of the nature of sentiments." Whereas fact is capable of verification, sentiment is not. Facts can be "right" or "wrong", whereas sentiments are. Sentiments are meaningless apart from the individual and can be comprehended only in light of their context. Sentiments are personal and are psychologically determined.

Sentiments, however, do not mean that a person is sentimental in the sense of being irrational. A person is "logical" in the sense of behaving according to his peculiar way of feeling about things,--things which have particular social values for him. Whenever a person behaves according to the expectations and sentiments of some other person, or group, "his

^{1/} loc. cit.

^{2/} Management and Morale, p. 28.

behavior is social or socialized."^{1/} Thus most human behavior is not logical, in the sense of being derived from a rational perception and analysis of the situation; but it is human in the sense that it is in accordance with a framework of sentiment. Rather than being illogical, it is nonlogical.

Therefore, to consider the "fact" of sentiment or feeling in behavior apart from its context is to treat it for what it is not. It fails to distinguish between the logical and the non-logical. When a person puts on a coat to go out from a heated house into a colder atmosphere he is behaving logically, But when he puts on a suit coat in a heated room to go into the presence of a higher authority, he is behaving in a nonlogical manner. In the latter instance, the individual is responding to sentiment or feeling as to what is acceptable. Whereas, in the first instance, the person might be prevailed upon by logical argument to go outdoors without putting on a coat, in the latter instance logic will probably be of no avail. A question of fact is involved in the first instance, whereas a matter of sentiment is involved in the second situation. Moreover, the more abstract and symbolical the sentiment, such as "sound business", "the American Way", "the woman's place is in the home", etc., the more difficult it is to apply logic. Difficulty in collaboration arises, therefore, when sentiments are disguised as logic or facts. To attempt to modify or rationalize sentiments of others by logic is more often than not wasted effort. "Thus an attempt to take contemporary man out of his present moral con-

^{1/} F. J. Roethlisberger, Management and Morale, p. 47.

fusion," declares Northrop,^{1/} "by feeding him more of the traditional humanities merely makes his demoralization the more confounded."

Much of the difficulty in dealing with human problems arises from "assuming that expressions of sentiment are statements of fact."^{2/} To deal with them logically is to miss the point and disrupt communication. The minds of the observer and of the observed are not vis-a-vis, but are tangent to each other. Conviction, moreover, is likely to be increased when rational argument is presented instead of human understanding.

Human problems necessitate human tools and human data.--

While it is necessary in a rational process to have an adequate conceptual scheme, a way of relating the factors involved to each other, or a working hypothesis, it is also necessary to have an adequate method. Not only is it necessary if self-education is to be obtained in the classroom to have a concept of the problems involved in human collaboration as well as an appreciation of the needs of each pupil as he performs in a matrix of emotional experiences, but also it is necessary to secure some effective method for properly ascertaining the factors involved and for the securing of the desired collaboration.^{3/}

^{1/} Op. cit., p. 258.

^{2/} F. J. Roethlisberger, Management and Morale, pp. 31-32.

^{3/} It is the writer's belief that any approach to a problem cannot be decided as effective and "accurate" a priori. The usefulness can be determined only in the results obtained. Any approach is neither "true" nor "false" of itself, but merely convenient or useful for the purpose. The method is effective in sustaining the theory involved rather than in the factual results obtained, and in "proving" the usefulness of the theoretical concepts involved.

Roethlisberger^{1/} concludes from his studies in personnel research that there is a tendency for management in industry to think "logically" about workers, regarding them from the concept of the "economic man," and feeling that in the settlement of economic and technical problems it is not necessary to consider the social factors involved. Many times management make changes based upon logical and economic considerations only to find that other problems were created because they have overlooked the social implications. The fallacy arose from believing that human collaboration in economic relations is obtained by economic devices, and that "the human problems of effective and meaningful association at work will take care of themselves."

In short, Roethlisberger charges management with endeavoring to solve human problems "with non-human tools and, what is still more extraordinary, in terms of non-human data."^{2/} A human problem requires a human solution, involving human data and human tools. Human feelings are not susceptible to logic or to statistical manipulation. Northrop^{3/} argues, "The supposition that the major problems of value in personal and social life will solve themselves automatically if enough statistical evidence is gathered" is fallacious and deluding.

Furthermore, Roethlisberger^{4/} presents evidence that "the

^{1/} Op. cit. pp. 53-54.

^{2/} Ibid, P.8.

^{3/} Op. cit. p. 188.

^{4/} Op. cit. pp. 18-22.

connection between a person's sentiments or feelings and the events and circumstances giving rise to them are not logical."

He concludes:

- (1) the behavior of persons cannot be understood apart from their feelings and sentiments;
- (2) these sentiments and feelings are usually disguised and adjusted; that is, they are projected onto the exterior world;
- (3) sentiments are meaningful, only in terms of the total situation of the person, and depend upon:
 - a. the social conditioning,
 - b. the kind of human satisfactions he derives from participation with others, and
 - c. the effect of change on customary interpersonal relations;
- (4) sentiments and feelings are not susceptible to questionnaires or other administrative devices; but are discoverable only through the non-directive interview.

The primary problem of any human organization, whether it be the factory or the school, the shop or the classroom, is how to secure the cooperation of people in attaining its collective purpose. What Roethlisberger^{1/} found to be true of the shop, the writer believes can be applied to the classroom. There are problems relating to channels of communication whereby the pupils can learn about their obligations in relation to the academic purpose, as well as express their feelings and sentiments about the methods and conditions of work. There are, secondly, problems of maintaining a condition of balance within

^{1/}Ibid, pp. 110-111.

the internal organization such that pupils, by contributing their efforts in self-help are able to satisfy their desires and hence are willing to cooperate. There are, thirdly, problems effecting individual adjustment and the securing of self-responsibility and participation whereby individual pupils who are having difficulty can be helped to help themselves to become better oriented to their situation.

In order to discover and understand the systems of sentiments affecting pupils, to be able to communicate with them in terms of these sentiments and feelings, and to enable pupils to achieve self-criticism and self-responsibility, as has already been suggested, a system of non-directive interview and counseling would seem to be an essential element of the school program. In a large urban school system, furthermore, such a program should afford a better understanding of the social organization among the faculty and administration, as well as provide a better basis for effective communication throughout the whole school structure.^{1/}

Non-directive counseling in the high school.-- The development of non-directive counseling and related research, according to Curran,^{2/} has tended to emphasize "the powers within each

^{1/} For a more detailed description of how this was accomplished in an industrial organization, the reader should investigate the work done at the Hawthorne Plant of the Western Electric Company. This is reported by F. J. Roethlisberger and W. J. Dickson, Management and the Worker. It is the belief of the writer that many of their findings have significance for educational psychology and indicate need for educational research.
^{2/} Op. cit., p. 279.

individual person for solving his own problems and choosing more adequate life experiences." It is not too clear as yet just how completely reliance can be placed in the non-directive technique. Rogers tends to place complete reliance upon the method in individual counseling. Others are inclined to place limitations upon its use; such as, the degree of stress felt by the counselee, his apparent capacity for abstract reasoning, etc. The writer, in his own work, and most of the counselors with whom he is acquainted are inclined toward an eclectic approach, using the non-directive technique wherever it appears promising, but switching to the directive when desirable, particularly when the time factor prevents effective use of the non-directive technique.

In 1942, the Progressive Education Association published ^{1/} The Story of The Eight-Year Study in which they asserted:

"The educational emphasis in this Plan is based upon a conviction that the secondary schools must become more effective in helping young people to develop the insight, the powers and the self-direction necessary for resourceful and constructive living. We wish to work toward a type of secondary education which will be flexible, responsive to changing needs, and clearly based upon an understanding of young people as well as an understanding of the qualities needed in adult life."^{2/}

Throughout the Study there is constant emphasis; but while the focus is on the pupil, the responsibility is on the counselor-teacher. Emphasis was placed on teacher guidance, rather

^{1/} W. M. Aitken. The Story of The Eight-Year Study. New York: Harper & Brothers, 1942.

^{2/} Ibid, p. 144.

than upon the self-guidance of pupils.

More recently Curran^{1/} and Cantor^{2/} have indicated possibilities along the line of self-guidance in the classroom, the latter from his own experience as a teacher. Curran, for instance, suggests that, "In a teacher-centered classroom, many personality growth experiences may be denied the pupil." He follows the lines suggested by the Eight-Year Study to the point where he goes beyond it in placing emphasis upon the need for "release of negative emotion" in non-directive therapy and the gaining of insight. It is not necessary that the counselor know the pupil; but that the counselor help the pupil free himself to know himself is important. Curran^{3/} particularly emphasizes that the therapy process "would not do away with the teaching role in education" even though the pupil himself "knows more about his own problems than the counselor," but that "the teacher is even more indispensable."

^{4/}
Cantor argues:

"By leaving them alone (with some guidance, however) to find their own way, at their own tempo, the instructor will help the students more quickly to come to grips with the material of the course....Those who fail to meet their responsibilities in these respects are interviewed with the view of helping them."

The significance of the counseling program, as indicated by Roethlisberger's studies at Western Electric, is not re-

^{1/} op. cit., pp. 271-276.

^{2/} Dynamics of Learning.

^{3/} Ibid, pp. 273-274.

^{4/} Ibid, p. 221.

stricted to individual therapy nor to more meaningful class-room experience. It further implies means of obtaining more effective communication and articulation of the whole educational program.

As Roethlisberger ^{1/} comments:

"There is not complete homogeneity of behavior between individuals or between one group of individuals and another, but rather there are differences of behavior expressing differences in social relationship. Individuals conscious of their membership in certain groups are reacting in certain accepted ways to other individuals representing another group. Behavior varies according to these stereotyped conceptions of relationship.....Most of the individuals who live among these patterns come to accept them as obvious and necessary truths and to react as they dictate."

But, as he further points out:

"Social values seem today to be in much more of a state of flux than before, and scales of values do not remain as constant, nor are they as commonly accepted by all groups in the social environment."^{2/}

The need, therefore, seems to be to secure means of more effective communication among administrators, between administrators and teachers, among teachers, between teachers and pupils, and among pupils. Such a means is available, in the writer's opinion, in the non-directive counseling program, or what Roethlisberger terms the "interviewing program." The key

^{1/} Management and Morale, p. 59.

^{2/} Ibid, p. 61.

would seem to lie in skilled listeners^{1/} who listen, never criticizing or commenting, but listening to individuals. From the interviews can be drawn a detailed picture of how the sentiments and feelings of personnel have actually structured the social organization, the nature of social distance, and the relation of the social structure to that of the wider community. More often than not, this social structure is quite different from that of the "blueprints" of the administrator.

Although many administrators and teachers make decisions and handle situations in terms of factors not strictly academic, few when challenged can resist the tendency to rationalize practice in terms of the oversimplified and often erroneous theory of academic motivation of human behavior. All too often the human activities that comprise the functioning of a classroom or of the school are conceived as being essentially academic. An educational organization is assumed to be comprised of individuals related for the promotion of academic interests.

It is difficult, in light of recent revelations of human behavior, to explain why this concept persists, particularly when it runs counter to everyday experiences, except that the thinking and behavior of educators is as institutionalized as in others. Even their "education" has not succeeded in eradi-

^{1/} "Skilled listeners" implies far more than the ordinary connotation of the term. It is the pith of the non-directive method of counseling and for a better understanding of which the reader should explore the literature, particularly C. Rogers, Counseling and Psychotherapy, and F. J. Roethlisberger and W. J. Dickson, Management and the Worker, Ch.XIII: "The Interviewing Method."

cating familiar concepts of assimilated ways of thinking deemed to be "natural" and "sound" simply because they are habitual.

The non-directive technique in the classroom.-- For several decades, Cantor^{1/} comments, "Educators have pleaded with psychiatrists to tell them what meaning their disciplines held for education." Regardless of the efforts of the latter to indicate the possibilities of mental hygiene in education, "there has been a pitifully meager amount of actual demonstration" of how it could be applied. The crux of the problem would seem to be in securing "a sufficient number of teachers" who had acquired "the skill to use these insights."

One thing is essential, according to Curran,^{2/} and that is that teachers fully comprehend that the use of the non-directive technique "depends on factors in the individual himself, by which the individual on his own responsibility and independent choice is able to bring about normal adjustment...." Unless one really grasps and is thoroughly convinced of the "strengths of human nature and its capacity for self-responsibility," it is hard to see how a teacher can be truly non-directive in his relationship with his pupils, or how a counselor can be non-directive with a counselee.

Moreover, as Curran^{3/} points out, "it seems that an emotionally confused person can gain no real insight into himself and can make no steps toward solving his problem until he has re-

^{1/} Dynamics of Learning, p. 9.

^{2/} Op. Cit., p. 23.

^{3/} Ibid, p. 34

peated opportunities to verbalize his emotions and conflicts."

To assume full responsibility for one's decisions and to undertake to be sincerely critical of self to the extent that it leads to self-reliance in his education is at the outset, particularly when one has been institutionalized, extremely difficult for most people and, the writer believes, particularly difficult for youth.

Independence and self-reliance, particularly for the institutionalized person, implies a denial of the dependent self which seeks social approval through conformity.^{1/} Guilt and the fear of being blamed are present if one strays off the "right" and "sound" path. On the other hand, conformity denies self-expression, and here guilt and fear are experienced because one has denied self. "To accept oneself, therefore, means to accept this inevitable conflict." To accept oneself means to be responsible for one's decisions without too much stress of guilt which, in the classroom, is possible to the extent that the pupil is given an opportunity to work out his conflicts without praise or blame and in complete acceptance of his sentiments and feelings. Then he is ready to understand others and willing to accept their feelings and sentiments.

Pupils perform not in accordance with their aptitudes, abilities, and skills; but in accordance with their feelings about the standards of the group or class. They perform according to the beliefs and creeds by which each individual is

^{1/} N. Cantor, Dynamics of Learning, p. 241.

made to feel an integral part of the group, in the social codes and norms of behavior by which they are automatically brought together as a group without any conscious choice as to whether they will or will not cooperate.^{1/} Desiring security and competing for acceptance under a system of praise, blame, and rewards is not conducive for self-reliance and self-education. Under these circumstances, pupils are unwilling to accept conflicting sentiments and feelings of others, being primarily concerned with tangible evidence of their own social importance.

If the purpose of education is to be, as the writer feels it should be, that men shall understand each other and thereby collaborate in the achievement of the general welfare, tolerance presupposes self-reliance and self-criticism. In order that pupils may acquire the ability to communicate with others and with members of other groups, it is necessary for them to understand their own sentiments and feelings before they can understand and accept the systems of sentiments affecting them and which bind them together socially. Then, and only then, will they be willing and able to understand and accept conflicting systems of sentiment. Thus, to paraphrase Stockard,^{2/} the classroom "should not be a sanctuary for the worship of authorities or heroes, but a free dwelling for students---conscious of and charitable to the faults and virtues of those that surround them."

^{1/} F. J. Roethlisberger, Management and Morale, pp. 23-24.

^{2/} C. R. Stockard. "The Spirit of the Laboratory", Science, vol. 85, April 9, 1937, pp. 343-347.

This ability to recognize the fallacies in one's basic behavior arising from previously conceived ideas of one's nature, needs, and welfare, but which are inadequate in light of new knowledge, and the capacity to change voluntarily one's behavior accordingly for the securing of more satisfactory life experiences, Northrop argues, is the greatest need of the times and, the writer believes, is the challenge to education. Thus Northrop^{1/} writes:

"This negation and attendant revolution apply to man's theories about nature, but not to nature itself, and to man's culture so far as the character of man's culture follows the pattern of, and the reconstructions in, man's theory of himself and nature. It is human theory, and the cultural values and institutions which are built upon and follow from human theory, that are subject, with the accumulation of human knowledge--especially when those human theories refer to the theoretic component in the nature of things--to the operation of the principle of negation and the attendant revolution which follows upon the operation of this principle. Thus, there is not an inevitable determinism in history, with respect to which man and his thoughts and theories are mere puppets, which defines the nature of man, the physical universe, and the course of historical events; instead it is the change in man's conception of the theoretic component in nature and the natural man with the increase of empirical knowledge, which determines in considerable part the character of, and the changes in, the historical cultural process."

^{2/}
The school as a laboratory.-- The chief function of the

^{1/} Op. Cit., p. 468.

^{2/} It is not the purpose of the writer to make any specific recommendations other than the general comments below. Should the reader be interested in specific recommendations following these lines, the writer particularly recommends Education for ALL Youth, The Education Policies Commission, National Education Association of the United States, Washington, D. C. 1944.

secondary school should be twofold: first, to train youth in accordance with their aptitudes and abilities to develop adequate technical skills and related knowledge commensurate with their probable occupational needs; and second, to provide adequate opportunities for experiences whereby they could develop the social skills demanded by an adaptive society. The secondary school should operate not as a subject or course curricula school; rather it would be set up as a laboratory in which youth might acquire experiences that would gradually bring about a new directness and orientation in a broader world. These experiences should be, according to Bloss:^{1/}

".....in all aspects of living in which he can explore his new powers, differentiate them toward mature goals, and pass through the reorganization of his emotional life under those conditions which make maturity desirable, attainable, and realistic."

In substance, the educational policy of the general high school should be to promote observation, to encourage the use of imagination, and to provide for adequate practice or experimenting. By virtue of their psychological relatedness to the needs of youth, these experiments in social behavior should help them clarify their aspirations and discover their status. It should provide social and economic responsibilities and privileges, and moderately gainful employment while still in school and as part of a definitely planned program. It should enable them to search for values and behavior which although distinctly their own would also be acceptable to society.

^{1/} Op. Cit., p. 507.

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To achieve these results, the general high school should be made the focal point of all the various community services provided for youth, -- the YMCA, the YWCA, the Boy and Girl Scouts, church organizations, 4-H Clubs, and the like. It would seem desirable, in order to effectively coordinate these various organizations, to have representatives form an advisory board for the formulation of policy. If youth are going to develop effective social skills, however, studying and observing the community are not enough. Only by giving youth opportunities to discover their competence as responsible members of the community can we hope to secure their genuine interest and arouse their best efforts.^{1/}

Therefore it would seem best that the above representatives be youth themselves. What youth need and many want is the opportunity to participate now in searching for the solutions of their problems. Of necessity, their problems are the problems of all society.^{2/} As Taylor suggests:

"They should be allowed to join in the search for the underlying causes of poor housing, inadequate sanitation, faulty traffic control, race conflicts, unemployment or industrial disputes in their own community and be given a chance to help find solutions. They need the stimulus of identification with the adult world of affairs, and the adult world has great need of their fresh energy, their enthusiasm, and their courage."

This may seem revolutionary to many people who are prone to regard youth as older children and as a rabble upon whom

^{1/} Taylor, op. cit., pp. 154-155.

^{2/} Ibid, p. 157.

order must be imposed. If they are an irresponsible, incompetent rabble, it is only because we have given them no opportunity to be otherwise. We have given them too few chances to demonstrate that of which they are capable. Whenever youth has been given an opportunity to assume responsibility, they have been given it without complete responsibility and privilege. Moreover, as soon as they made mistakes, just as adults have in their world, we have snatched away their rights and admonished them as not being "fit" to exercise them.

Revolutionary as it may seem, it appears the only way by which we can preserve our society from complete disintegration. If there is any lesson to be learned from the recent history of Europe, it should be the significant part played by youth in the revolutionary movements. In a large measure it was the inability of European peoples to perceive the needs of their youth and to provide them with status and opportunities for participation under adequate guidance in community life that enabled the demagogues to organize them into the nefarious "youth movements" upon which they built their "new order." It is sheer folly to assume that "it can't happen here," particularly were America to be plunged into a severe and prolonged depression. There is reason to believe that the wise action of the federal government in setting up the C.C.C. and the N.Y.A. enabled the American people to escape serious consequences of the Youth Problem in the last depression.

Need for a social science laboratory.-- One of the out-

standing accomplishments in the teaching of the physical sciences has been the development and use of the laboratory method for the development of scientific skills. Within recent decades there has been some development of a social science laboratory, particularly in the field of psychology at the college level. In some respects, the writer believes, the development of the unit method out of the Dalton Laboratory Plan, the Winnetka Plan, etc., are pointing in this direction. Certainly this would seem to be true of the "progressive school" movement.

There is need for developing at the secondary school level opportunity for observation of social behavior, recognition of the social structure and in what it consists, development of capacity to resolve the confusion of meaning of verbal and non-verbal phenomena, observation of the physical attributes of social status (the extent of which objects become carriers of social value and objectify sentiments and feelings of being accepted and of belonging), and provide skills in adaptive behavior in a verbal environment.

At the outset, such a laboratory will probably be crude and inadequate. But such was the nature of physical science laboratories in the beginning. The criterion of perfection did not deter the growth of the physical science laboratory. Even today many physical science teachers regard present attainments as not wholly adequate and are constantly searching for new and more effective ways and means. Undoubtedly, there is need for

further experimentation and research in the social sciences. Many of the tools for human analysis and understanding are inadequate. That, however, need not deter the use of what is available and it would seem highly desirable that we do so.

More adequate preparation of teachers.-- Perhaps one of the major weaknesses of modern secondary schools in dealing with youth and their needs lies in the fact that many teachers do not themselves possess adequate social skills for effectively participating in an adaptive society. Coming as many of them do directly from college into the high school classroom, they tend to regard the training of youth as the imposing of institutional patterns upon their charges.

If there is any hope through the education of youth of closing the cultural gap between our ideologies and institutional patterns, on the one hand, and the technological progress and industrialization, on the other, the teacher training institutions must challenge future teachers to discover what is desirable to retain in our civilization and what should be discarded. To do this it is necessary to know something of the various institutions, their history, the conditions they were set up to control, the changes which have taken place in these conditions, and the present functioning of these institutions.

"Facts of social behavior," according to Roethlisberger,^{1/} "are likely to be considered simple and obvious, and sometimes trivial.....For the untrained person, such observations are

^{1/} Management and Morale, p. 67.

difficult because interactions between persons more often than not are expressed in terms of norms which the observer takes for granted." It is the variation from norms, not the norms themselves, of a group which are noticed. Therefore, it is desirable that the preparing teacher study, from a functional point of view, the social organization of some cultural group different from his own, noting the social institutions to which they are intrinsically related and how the institutional patterns govern their conduct, determine social distance, and define social status for them. In short, he should perceive how "meaning" and "function" socially are determined by their institutional patterns. Then he will be in a position to apply the same study to himself and his own social order, and develop an essential philosophy regarding human nature and its environment.

Finally, he should become familiar with and have some opportunity to explore the use of the non-directive techniques. He should be able to discern the essential difference between facts and sentiments, and recognize that logical argument does not change sentiment and feeling. To discover the sentiment of others, he must be able to listen skillfully to what is said and what is not said, without advice, moral admonition, or argument, listening not to content but to feeling. He should be able to discern, as Roethlisberger^{1/} suggests, whether he is listening to a person who "belongs" to and therefore expresses the sentiments of the group, or to a person who is "excluded" and

^{1/} Ibid, pp. 102-103.

has either through over-thinking developed obsessions which befog his rationalization, or has merely become temporarily "lost" because adjustment was too rapid or his mode of handling the situation inadequate. Throughout the whole process the training teacher must be able to convey to the person he is interviewing the feeling of acceptance of sentiments for what they are,--the feelings of the person,--and, at the same time, be able to grant the interviewee the right to differ in sentiment from his own.

This virtually means curriculum reforms of great magnitude. It also means developing an appreciation of the school of America for youth as existing not to perpetuate the status quo, but to prepare youth for effective participation in modern industrialized urban society. It means recognizing that the real function of the secondary school is to rid prejudice and false veneration, provide opportunity for observation and practice, and valiantly defend critical thinking.^{1/}

1/ Hertzler, op. cit., p. 200.

EPILOGUE

The Youth Problem has developed from two broad conditions conjointly: one, the conflicts among the institutional patterns of modern industrialized urban civilization; and the other, the cultural lag created by the comparatively slow changes taking place in the non-material institutional patterns, particularly in the moral ideologies, commensurate with the dynamic changes occurring in the material institutions caused by the rapid technological progress. As a result, a cultural gap has developed in the social structure in that no institutional pattern exists for youth between 16 and 25 years of age.

Condemned to prolong childhood, which sociologically they have outgrown, or to accept the obligations of adulthood without any of its privileges, which is an imprecation of their rights as persons, many youth are seeking to achieve status and the fruition of their felt needs in ways that are asocial and, increasingly, even anti-social.

Most youth, however, have not tended toward asocial behavior for the most part because they have been willing to accept the lengthening of their childhood status. This has been largely the result of their economic and social dependence upon their parents. That this is an illusive solution, however, is demonstrated by the increasingly neurotic character of our modern Western civilization.

Moreover, the culmination of the ideologies of capitalism in the corpocratic economic and political structures, conjointly with the final incidence of the philosophy of individualism and crass materialism in the social structure, has evolved a circumstance of abnormal frustration for most youth that is fast rendering them incapable of maturing into an adulthood capable of coping with the demands of our Western civilization.

Consequently, there is great need for profound modifications and changes in the institutional patterns of the societal structure. So far the cultural inertia has prevented the development of utter social chaos; but the dynamics of modern civilization and the attendant demands for adjustment are inexorably multiplying the aspects of the Youth Problem.

We cannot, however, as adults, arbitrarily create folkways or establish mores for youth. Of necessity, they arise from the felt needs of youth and should be built around their sentiments and feelings. What youth need most is an opportunity to work them out in security and as recognized members of an evolving society in which they enjoy a recognized status.

Every significant historical advance of man has been attended by a substantial revision of the institutional structure out of which the new society has evolved. Ultimately the people have supplied their own answers to their needs. Although a crisis may force them to revise their ideas; no crisis, however great, can force them to think clearly unless

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attended by a substantial revision of the institutional structure out of which the new society has evolved. Ultimately the people have supplied their own answers to their needs. Although a crisis may force them to revise their ideas; no crisis, however great, can force them to think clearly unless

there exists an atmosphere conducive to sane rationalization.

The home and parental guidance, which formerly provided this atmosphere for the gradual maturing of children into adulthood, no longer function adequately in that capacity. The public educational systems have been evolved to assume a major portion of that function. They are being impeded, however, by the persistence of institutional thinking which still regards youth as older children, on the one hand, and which holds to the concepts of an established society, on the other, thereby committing school authorities to the dogma of "sound" education and to the indoctrination of youth with the archaic institutions and mores of a rural civilization.

The schools thereby fail to develop in youth the essential social skills and capacity for self-help that an adaptive society requires. It is not that youth are less capable, but that more is expected of them than they are able to cope with. Apparently a revolutionary change must be made in our educational philosophy and carried into practice before society can assume its obligations to youth.

We cannot afford any longer to ignore the demands for an adequate solution of the Youth Problem if we ever hope to bring into reality what Adams^{1/} aptly termed the "American dream" and which he described as:

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" . . . that dream of a land in which life should be better and richer and fuller for every man, with opportunity for each according to his ability or achievement. . . . It is not a dream of motor cars and high wages merely, but a dream of a social order in which each man and each woman shall be able to attain to the fullest stature of which they are innately capable, and be recognized by others for what they are regardless of the fortuitous circumstances of birth or position."

In short, we must recognize the right of each generation to formulate the social structure and culture in which it desires to live.

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